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**Students' understandings of citizenship and  
citizenship education in selected public and private  
secondary schools in Chile**

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A thesis submitted for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy in Education  
University of Sussex

September 2018

## **Declaration**

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree. However, this thesis incorporates, to the extent indicated below, material already submitted as part of required coursework for the degree of: MSc Social Research Methods which was awarded by the University of Sussex. Specifically, approximately 3,000 words from the proposal for this research which served as my dissertation are included in various chapters of this thesis.

Signature: .....

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Above all, thank you to my God and Lord Jesus Christ. You are the One who has always believed in me, always faithful. It is your Love and my faith in You what makes me who I am.

## **Students' understandings of citizenship and citizenship education in selected public and private secondary schools in Chile**

**Paula Alejandra Leal Tejada**

### **Summary**

This study is justified by a renewed interest in citizenship in both the international and the Chilean education context. Throughout history, it has often been difficult to conceptualise citizenship, but there is a consensus that it is a desirable status and condition, and that education plays a crucial role in the development of citizenship. Approaches from which to understand and implement citizenship education are also diverse. Research on civics and citizenship education has been conducted worldwide and in Chile, especially in the last decades. These studies and the revived importance of citizenship, the globalised scenario and the new context of democracy after the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990), have prompted governments to review citizenship education in Chile, design curriculum reforms to make it more relevant to students, and help them to develop the competences needed to practise their citizenship. However, there is still a lack of research that explores citizenship education in Chile and takes students' views as a priority, particularly in secondary schools.

This study provides insights into what secondary school students understand by citizenship and citizenship education in Chile, and how the education system through the curriculum and particular types of school, influences those understandings.

A qualitative case study was conducted in one city in southern Chile over five months in 2013, with grade 12 students (aged 17-18), their head teachers, teachers of the subject History, Geography and Social Sciences, and their parents. Two secondary schools, one public-secular and one private faith-based, were chosen as they portrayed the current situation of citizenship education in provinces in Chile and helped to compare different types of schools regarding the delivery of citizenship education.

Study findings show that students' understandings of citizenship and citizenship education are influenced by the intended and implemented curriculum. Even when several

reforms on education have been carried out, the discourses, ideologies and objectives embedded in official government education policy documents have not significantly changed in the last two decades. One explanation is that the policy-makers involved in the enactment of reforms are influenced by ideologies of groups that seek to maintain unequal relations of power. What students understand by citizenship and citizenship education align with the official discourses in the curriculum and textbooks, but those understandings and the sense of citizenship they have developed are not connected to what has been delivered in citizenship education. Regarding students' experiences of citizenship, these might be either helped or hindered by their families, the school ethos and local community.

Regarding the contribution to knowledge, this thesis has addressed the limited research on what students in Chile understand by citizenship and citizenship education, and the link between their understandings and the school curriculum. It also adds knowledge to the existing literature on discourses and ideologies in education, different types of curriculum and school ethos. This study contributes to informing decisions of policy-makers to improve the education system, the curriculum and particularly, citizenship education, considering the need for better training of teachers, an updated understanding of citizenship education and the diverse types of schools, a review of the discourses embedded in education policy, and overall, the need to hear students' voice and include their views in the enactment of education documents.

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### **List of abbreviations**

CE	Citizenship Education
CIVED	Civic Education Study
CMO	Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios (Minimum Mandatory Contents)
ESRC	The Economic and Social Research Council
CSRN	Electivo Ciencias Sociales y Realidad Nacional (Optional Subject Social Sciences and National Reality)
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HGSC	History, Geography and Social Sciences Subject
ICCS	International Civic and Citizenship Education Study
LGE	Ley General de Educación (General Law of Education)
LOCE	Ley Orgánica Constitucional de Enseñanza LOCE (Organic Constitutional Law of Education)
MINEDUC	Ministerio de Educación de Chile (The Ministry of Education of Chile)
OF	Objetivos Fundamentales (Fundamental Objectives)
PFBS	Private Subsidised Faith-Based School
PISA	OECD Programme for International Student Assessment
PP	Plans and Programmes
PSS	Public Secular School
SIMCE	Sistema de Medición de la Calidad de la Educación (Education Quality Measurement System)

### **Anonymity and confidentiality**

The names of the schools have been coded, while all students, teachers and parents' names have been replaced with pseudonyms.

### **Gender neutrality**

I use the expressions 's/he' and 'her/his' to refer to the singular third person, to include both female and male genders.

## Chapter 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Introduction and context to the study

This research studies understandings of citizenship and citizenship education, with special reference to secondary schools in Chile. This study seeks to take students' voice as a priority and contrast their understandings of what educational policy stands regarding citizenship and citizenship education.

There is much research about different approaches to citizenship and the concept of citizen. Throughout the history of the studies of the concept of citizenship, from Aristotle in the Ancient Greece to the present day, reflection has been focused on different issues, depending on the particular historical, geographical, cultural, and social context in which the analysis has been developed (Faulks, 2013). Some phenomena that are often linked to the concept and practise of citizenship are the nation-state, the processes of globalisation, multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism and participatory processes, amongst others. Given the breadth of issues to be considered in these analyses, it is often difficult to conceptualise citizenship and citizen. Some definitions include the condition and status of titular of basic rights for all (civil, political and social) and responsibilities; the membership of a local and national community; the membership of a global community, because of our condition as human beings (Marshall, 1950; Marshall & Bottomore, 1992; Peled, 2007; Cabrera, 2010). In what there is wide consensus is on the crucial role that education and the school play in the development and practice of citizenship (MINEDUC, 2004). At the same time, approaches from which to understand and implement CE are diverse (Kerr, Ireland, Lopes, Craig & Cleaver, 2004).

Research on CE has been carried out in different parts of the world, especially in the last decades. There are major international studies such as the Civic Education Study (CIVED) conducted by The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) in 1999 (Torney-Purta, Schwille & Amadeo, 1999) and the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) conducted by IEA between 2006-2010 (Schulz, Ainley, Friedman & Lietz, 2010). These studies show the emphasis that different countries are giving to the training of their students for them to become citizens, in which the education system and CE are crucial. There is research for the

specific context of Chile and its CE, more specifically international studies that show the knowledge students have in civic matters (Cox, Jaramillo & Reimers, 2005; Reimers, 2007; Cox, 2010; MINEDUC, 2010a; Schulz, Ainley, Friedman & Lietz, 2010). Also, these studies shed light on how the curriculum goals on the particular areas are being met.

However, research in specific terms of the views students have of CE and how it is taught, and understandings about citizenship that secondary school students ready to graduate have developed has been largely ignored. This study seeks to redress this situation by focusing on understandings and experiences of citizenship and CE from the students' own views and how the education system, through the curriculum and the school, and the students' backgrounds, might influence those views. To research on CE is crucial to inform decisions of policy makers to improve education and the curriculum. Students' understandings, opinions and voice at the centre of this study will contribute to informing CE in Chile, aiming at making it more relevant to students.

## **1.2 Background of the research**

This study is justified on the grounds of a renewed interest in citizenship in both the international and the Chilean education context (Bellamy & Palumbo, 2010; Kymlicka & Norman, 1994; MINEDUC, 2004). This interest is evidenced in education reforms led by the 'Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia' (Concert of Parties for Democracy) Governments in Chile from 1990 until 2010 such as the creation of a new curriculum for primary and secondary schools. Concerning CE, during the government of President Ricardo Lagos (2000-2006) the Chilean Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) commissioned a group of academics to review the current curriculum concerning CE. The main reasons were the results in international studies mentioned above, in which Chile did not attain what was expected to and the interest in CE in the world and Chile. The purpose of this commission was to propose courses of action to update CE and improve its quality (MINEDUC, 2004).

However, after several years of reforms, it can be stated that even when the corresponding actions regarding educational adjustments were taken, the evidence suggests that these actions have not been sufficient to overcome inefficiencies in the system (Almonacid, 2004) and specifically to improve the quality of CE. In this sense, international studies

such as the CIVED in 1999 (Torney-Purta et al., 1999), shows that 8<sup>th</sup> grade Chilean students achieved scores in the civic knowledge that are significantly lower than the international. The ICCS (2006-2010) shows that in relation to the question how much 8th grade Chilean students know about civics and CE, the answer provided by this review is that they are below the average of what students of participating countries know, but just above all other Latin American countries that participated in the project (Schulz, Ainley, Friedman et al., 2010). The results of international studies such as ICCS make it clear that what students have achieved do not match the education goals proposed by the new governments in democracy in Chile.

Studies have focused on the influences of the entire education system both on students' learning and on their development as citizens, but the specific role the curriculum and the school plays in the development of citizenship is not studied enough. Recognising that the school has a fundamental role to play in the education of citizens (Banks, 2004), leads to acceptance that the links that can be established between the student, the school community, the families of students and the community as a whole might contribute to the students' understandings of citizenship. It is important to explore if students identify the school and the local community as having a main role in their training as citizens.

At a personal level, my experience as a social worker in Chile prompted my interest in looking at secondary school students' understandings of citizenship and CE. Added to this was my expertise in the design, implementation and evaluation of social programs at the local level, specifically programs aimed at supporting youth in vulnerable situations in provinces of southern Chile. Regarding education, I became a member of a research group in economic and consumer psychology at a university in southern Chile. One of the programs conducted by this research group from 2008 to 2010 was focused on economic education. It was implemented in four primary schools in Chile to improve economic literacy levels and to understand attitudes towards debt that students and their families had developed. As a consequence of my experience and knowledge in social work, my participation was orientated specifically to reflect on the relationship between economic education and citizenship. The results of this programme showed important differences in the representations of economic citizenship among children participating in economic education programs and non-participants, on their belonging to a particular socio-economic status. These differences do not exist amongst children of a high socio-economic level. These results prompted my thoughts on dimensions of citizenship, or in

other words, what kind of knowledge and skills should citizens develop to fully exercise their citizenship and what the role played by the education system is in providing that knowledge to citizens.

Along with my participation in programmes aimed at studying topics on the economy, education and citizenship, my interest in secondary schools was motivated by student movements since April 2011. It is said that these movements are clear examples of citizen mobilisations in which the main actors were secondary school students who received support from all sectors of Chilean society. This situation influenced my decision to study the topic of citizenship from the point of view of students, considering the lack of research focused on these issues.

Considering all the mentioned issues, this research intends to address how secondary school students understand citizenship and CE in selected public and private schooling in Chile. The study is significant because it contributes to the debate about how the intended and implemented curriculum influence those understandings and what concepts and practices of citizenship are being promoted in schools. Also, the extent to which both the curriculum and school take the voice of students into consideration as a priority, meaning, what they understand, identify and value of citizenship and CE. Finally, this research intends to illuminate and contribute to the existing literature on CE, curriculum and CE and citizenship as a lived experience.

### **1.3 Education curriculum reforms and citizenship education in Chile**

The curriculum for primary and secondary schools introduced in the 1980s during the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet was focused on the promotion of patriotism and national values and dismissed the historical method of inquiry as being no longer worthy of a preeminent place in teaching and learning. This reflected the social control being exerted under the dictatorship and the associated desire to stamp out any promotion of critical thinking (Zúñiga, O'Donoghue & Clarke, 2015).

In the last day of the regime of Augusto Pinochet in 1990, the dictatorship promulgated the Organic Constitutional Law of Education (LOCE), instructing the new government to enact Fundamental Objectives (OF) and Minimum Mandatory Contents (CMO) for

education in nine months' time (Cox, 2006). This Law followed a principle of providing more autonomy to schools by giving them the chance of designing their own programmes of study (Plans and Programmes, and created a new agency, Consejo Superior de Educación (High Council of Education) to monitor attainment in education. The 'Curriculum for Secondary Schools: Fundamental Objectives and Minimum Mandatory Contents' was enacted in 1998. Its principles were the need for an updated curriculum, the improvement of quality and equity in education, and the need for setting values in a new scenario of democracy.

Cox (2006) and Gysling (2003) have discussed the scenarios in which the different versions of the curriculum have been enacted. As already mentioned, the version 1998 was decreed by mandate of the dictatorship to the new democratic government. It was highly politicised as society groups had to be included in the discussion to design the curriculum. The situation was different during the update of the curriculum in 2009 as the goal was not to change structures of the education system (Cox, 2011) but to withdraw and add syllabuses and adapt the chronology of contents. There is recognition that students' mobilisations in 2006 prompted the government to speed up reforms in education (Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile, 2009a), therefore, the promulgation of the General Law of Education (LGE) and the amendments needed for the curriculum in 2009. The Curriculum Proposal 2013 is a response to the LGE and new learning standards, among others. Cox (2011), Gysling (2003) and Zúñiga et al. (2015) have been reflecting on how groups that held power in Chile (economic, social, cultural) seek to maintain power by influencing policy-making processes, situation shown in discourses and ideologies that have not significantly changed in educational documents.

After several years of implementation, MINEDUC proposed to review the current curriculum in the 2000s, to explore the validity and relevance of its framework, to identify shortcomings in education, propose strategies to improve it, and overall, to respond to current social demands. It involved the participation of different stakeholders, research on curriculum coverage, analysis of international curricula, surveys completed by teachers, and public consultations (MINEDUC, 2009). Regarding citizenship or civics matters, the government proposed a review of CE. The Comisión Formación Ciudadana (Citizenship Education Commission) reported its results in 2004. It advised an 'update' in 2009 and 'adjustments to components of the existing framework' to facilitate its implementation (MINEDUC, 2009).



The prevailing views of citizenship that have emerged from the just mentioned Commission and the international studies in civics lead to reflection on how these conceptualisations align with what students understand by citizenship. It is argued that conceptualisations of citizenship have to line up with the current international context, which is characterised by globalisation and rapid social, political, and cultural transformations. At the same time, the Chilean society demands from its citizens the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values that correspond to a democratic nation (MINEDUC, 2004). The emphasis on rights and responsibilities, the relationship of citizens with the nation-state, the focus on the competences needed in a globalised world and the apathy of young people, particularly secondary school students towards political participation, are some aspects mentioned by the Commission and the international studies that characterise citizenship. However, research on how students understand these issues and to what extent they are relevant to them is still underdeveloped in Chile. In consequence, more studies are needed on how effective the reforms on CE are.

With the arrival of democracy in Chile in 1990, social groups focused on regaining full political and civil rights after their neglect under military rule. After a few years of governments of the 'Concertación' parties from 1990, people started to show their discontent about the deep reforms they had been fighting for, demands that were not responded to by the governments. The 'Revolución Pingüina' (the Penguin Revolution) was a secondary school students' national movement in 2006 to demand an improvement of the education system: better quality, a more active state role and the end of profit (Zúñiga et al., 2015). Some of the students' demands, such as the end of profit in education, were considered for the enactment of a new law of education.

Even when Concertación governments from 1990 and the right-wing government of Sebastián Piñera (2010-2014) have argued they have promoted the corresponding actions to improve the education system, these measures have not been enough for social sectors in Chile. A new students' movement took place in the country in 2011 with a series of nationwide demonstrations to obtain equality and free education for all.

A new General Law of Education has been designed and promulgated, and a new curriculum Bases recently implemented from 2014. CE is intended in the new curriculum as a set of concepts and practices to be developed in three subjects: HGSC; Maths, and Language.

As discussed, progressive reforms in education have been carried out since 1990. Research on how the reorganisation of the education system in the country has occurred is being developed. However, the CE and how it is intended, enacted and implemented, particularly in documents such as the curriculum and textbooks, is not broadly studied yet. Therefore, the research conducted so far is insufficient for giving an account of students' views and voices.

The school is one of the natural spaces in which citizenship is practised. It is an instance for the encounter of parents, families, students, school staff and members of the local community (Pring, 2001). There is increasing research in schools regarding how these interactions occur, but a lack of studies about the links between students' understandings and practices of citizenship and the social/educational actors just mentioned.

#### **1.4 Research questions**

The purpose of this thesis is to explore how grade 12 students understand citizenship and CE in two secondary schools in southern Chile and to reflect on the link between these understandings and the intended and implemented curriculum. To address the issues that emerge from the current context of students' understandings of citizenship and CE, I review the literature on these topics, which includes a historical journey of the idea and approaches to citizenship, citizen and CE. Within this narrow construct of CE, I am interested in looking at what is taught, how it is taught and what are the outcomes.

The framework given in the discussion of the different topics in the literature review section informed my understanding and questions about citizenship, citizen and CE; guides me to define interview questions, a basis for analysis of educational policy documents and the responses given by the interviewees, and to set thematic categories from the data.

This thesis is about grade 12 students. The reason for choosing this particular group of students is that the Chilean curriculum aims to prepare young people to exercise active citizenship when graduating from school and becoming responsible for their rights and duties; hence, this study looks at deepening understandings of students who will graduate in the near future. There is a lack of studies in Chile aiming to explore the understandings

of students in the last grade of secondary school, which could contribute to a review of the curriculum.

The question that guides this study is:

*How do grade 12 students in selected public-secular and private faith-based secondary schools in Chile understand citizenship and citizenship education, and their significance?*

It considers the curriculum for secondary schools as this is the main official document in which CE is intended, embedded and implemented in schools.

It explores HGSC because this subject incorporates the knowledge of citizenship and goals for CE in secondary schools.

The study is delimited to public and private secondary schools in Chile; it looks at secular and faith-based schools. One reason is that there are differences in the attainment in CE depending on the type of school. Another reason is that there is a lack of studies in Chile aiming to explore the understandings of students about citizenship in these types of secondary schools.

The study was conducted in one city in Los Lagos Region, situated in the south of Chile.

In order to answer the main question of this thesis, the sub-questions are:

1. How are citizenship and citizenship education discursively constituted in official government education policy documents in Chile?
2. How do students construct their understandings of citizenship and citizenship education in relation to their backgrounds?
3. To what extent are students' understandings and practises of citizenship and citizenship education helped or hindered by the implemented curriculum within selected secondary public-secular and private faith-based schools in Chile?

These questions were analysed in relation to key dimensions: namely gender, socioeconomic status and geographical location. Even though Chilean democratic governments have taken measures to improve quality and equity in education and CE, shortcomings are still present in the Chilean education system. These shortcomings are

related to differences in what students achieve depending on gender, socioeconomic status and geographical location, the i.e. region of Chile in which students reside.

### 1.5 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is composed of eight chapters. **Chapter 1** is the introduction that presents the motivation of the research, a brief context that guides my interest in the topic, the contribution to knowledge and the research questions.

**Chapter 2** consists of a presentation of the study that includes an introduction to Chile and its educational context from dictatorship to democracy, with emphasis on CE.

**Chapter 3** reviews literature, which includes topics on citizenship, CE, faith-based and secular schooling and curriculum.

**Chapter 4** presents the methodology for conducting this study. I discuss my philosophical stance, the reason for using an interpretive approach and a case study. I present data collection tools such as document review, focus group interviews, semi-structured interviews and observations, sampling and data analysis strategies. I include in this chapter my reflection on the fieldwork.

**Chapter 5** consists of the findings from an analysis of documents in education: the Chilean Curriculum in three different versions and the Textbook of History, Geography and Social Sciences for grade 12. It focuses on the context of enactment of these documents, ideologies, objectives, contents and conceptualisation of citizenship and CE.

**Chapter 6** reflects on the findings from the analysis of data: focus groups, interviews with students, head teachers, teachers and parents, and observations in classrooms and within the school. The analysis was carried out in relation to understandings of citizenship.

**Chapter 7** focuses on reflections regarding the implemented curriculum in schools; it covers types and ethos of schools, teachers' roles and students' views of CE.

**Chapter 8** presents a summary of the findings and the reflection on the relationships established between theoretical review and findings. It summarises the contributions of the research regarding knowledge, theory and methodology.

**Chapter 9** It summarises the main findings of this study, the implications for CE, main contribution to knowledge and limitations and challenges for further research.

## **Chapter 2. Citizenship and citizenship education in the context of Chile**

### **2.1 Introduction**

Policies and practices related to CE are framed by the specific context of the nation-state, which includes historical, social, economic, and cultural aspects, among others. When referring to Chile as a nation-state, there is an idea of a successful country, at least in Latin America, especially in economic terms. In the words of Kis and Field (2009, 5):

Chile has an impressive record of economic growth – real GDP increased by 6% per year between 1985 and 2007. Alongside the growth have come dramatic improvements in educational participation, with around 80% of young people now entering upper secondary, and 40% entering tertiary education. But some big challenges remain if Chile is to sustain its strong economic record.

Macroeconomic indicators in Chile show a significant economic growth that benefits all socioeconomic groups. One of the many indicators of ‘progress’ is the sustained improvement in GDP per capita of Chile when compared to the previous generation; it currently is more than four times higher than in 1980. The rates of poverty reduction are also important; it is stated that it was reduced from 40% in 1990 to 20% in 2000 and then 13.7% in 2006 (MIDEPLAN, 2006).

The situation described is related to the fact that Chile is making efforts to ‘grow with equality’ and to ‘achieve development’. This intent can be seen in social, economic, and cultural policies, and in the emphasis on the need for skilled human capital. Official discourse of the last four governments after the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990) stresses development as a crucial goal, and the decisions made have highlighted economic growth, improvement in equality and education as a key for development. The education system has been reformed and re-oriented towards increasing quality and equality, which is essential for the development of citizens and human capital (Carnoy, 1998; MINEDUC, 2010a). One of the main reforms implied the enactment of a new education curriculum through which CE has to be delivered in schools.

## **2.2 Characteristics of the Chilean education**

This section is divided into three themes: general characteristics of the Chilean education system from dictatorship to democratic governments, the Chilean Curriculum, citizenship education and outcomes of the Chilean education. It includes a description of these topics that make the focus of this research a contribution to knowledge.

### **2.2.1 Characteristics of the Chilean education system from dictatorship to democratic governments**

Prior to the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990), as Vergara (1984) summarises, different governments, such as those led by Eduardo Frei Montalva (1964-1970) and Salvador Allende (1970-1973) emphasised four issues in relation to their public policies: the importance given to the state in economic and social terms, especially as principal regulator of development and social inequalities; the need for social change; the value assigned to democracy; and the acceptance of ideological and political pluralism.

During the dictatorship, Chile experienced a profound shift with the introduction of neoliberal ideology (Vergara, 1984). Liberal organisation prevailed in economic terms, with a sharp critique of the role of the state in these economic matters, that is, the market works better without government intervention. The discourse of the new regime of Augusto Pinochet claimed that problems inherited from the previous government of Salvador Allende, such as inflation and unemployment, had to be solved. Pinochet promoted the privatisation of many of the public companies that had been nationalised by the former government. Another decision was the elimination of subsidies for nationalised companies allowing the free entry of foreign investors.

In educational terms, a funding model of demand radically replaced the funding model based on the supply and direct provision of education by the state (Carnoy, 1998). In this system, MINEDUC allocated financial resources to the educational units mainly from the variable named 'Student Attendance' which was operationalised by the average number of students that daily attended the school during the month (Almonacid, 2004). The model was imposed in 1981 to over 60% of local primary and secondary public education (process completed in 1987) and in a substantial degree to the whole university system.

Another crucial issue of the reform is that in the 80s, the state gave the ownership of

public schools to municipalities and private institutions and corporations. At the same time, the process of municipalisation allowed the development of subsidised private schools and paid private schools. The new model increased the social gap by enabling only citizens of high socioeconomic status to enrol their children in private schools, leaving students who belonged to families with lower income per capita in municipal schools (Carnoy, 1998; Almonacid, 2004).

Concerning tertiary education, Vocational Institutes (I.P.) and Technical Training Centres (CFT) were created; this situation generated a significant difference on the previous educational model since the old system was organised in eight different universities with campuses across the country. These new higher education institutions aimed to provide the country with technical specialists, emphasising technological development (Vergara, 1984).

In the 1990s, Chile saw the return of democracy led by the ‘Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia’ (Coalition of Parties for Democracy). Thus, the new government had to examine the effects of the education system implemented by the dictatorship. The new Concertación government of Patricio Aylwin (1990-1994) identified two significant flaws in education: the low quality and social inequality in access to quality education.

The current characteristics of the education system after the reforms led by Concertación Governments resulted in several levels of education. Pre-school level for children up to 5 years old; primary school level for those aged 6–13, divided into eight grades; secondary school level for teenagers aged 14–17, divided into four grades. Schools are divided by curriculum into ‘scientific’ and ‘humanities’. It is separated into two cycles, each of two years’ duration. The first cycle consists of a common curriculum for all schools. From the 3rd grade, students choose to specialise either in the academic, vocational or artistic stream. ‘Technical-vocational’ schools aim to guide students to enter the workforce after secondary education. Each of these streams has its own curriculum guidelines. There are four types of schools, which are public or municipal schools, private subsidised schools, private paid schools, and corporation schools.

Higher or tertiary education is not compulsory, and it is divided into three different institutions: universities (public and private), professional institutes (public and private) and technical training centres (private). In order to gain access to tertiary education,



students must complete 12 years of compulsory secondary education. They must also take a national standardised test called Prueba de Selección Universitaria or PSU (Access to Tertiary Education Test). Tertiary education fees are expensive, a reason why students from lower socioeconomic status cannot afford them, so they are compelled either to obtain loans or to forego any study (Espinoza, 2001). This is one of the reasons why students have been demonstrating against a market model of education since 2006. They demand reforms, which include free entrance to higher education (Weinstein, 2011).

In relation to coverage in education, Chile had approximately 17,100,000 inhabitants in 2009, from which 2.14 million students were enrolled at primary level in 2009, 88% attending urban schools. 1.03 million students were enrolled at secondary level in the same year, 96% attending urban institutions. 65% of secondary school students attended scientific-humanities institutions, and 35% were enrolled in technical education centres.

In 2003, a constitutional reform established free and compulsory secondary education for all the inhabitants of Chile up to 18 years of age. 7.2% belonged to private non-subsidised, which meant they were financed by tuition fees; 52.9% to private subsidised which were owned by private institutions, but funded by government subsidies; and 38.5% to municipal control, which were administrated by municipalities and owned and financed by the state.

As this study looks at the differences between faith-based and secular schools, I provide information about Catholic Schools in Chile. As it happens worldwide, these schools depend on the Catholic Church and are open to enrol non-Catholic students as well. In primary and secondary education, the foundations should ensure that those who are in special needs and care, deprived of the assistance and affection of a family, or who are strangers to the gift of Faith, have priority for enrolment. In Chile, there are different types of Catholic schools: private ones run by private corporations, and private subsidised. In 2014, the total enrolment in primary and secondary Catholic educational establishments reached 377,186 students, studying in 593 schools all over Chile, with coverage of the 16.8% of the total national enrolment (Conferencia Episcopal de Chile, 2014). To get enrolled in a Catholic School, parents have to show a birth certificate, civil marriage certificate, certificate of attainment from previous school/s, baptism and religious marriage certificates, proof of income, payment of fees, interview with parents and the student and the student must take a written exam or entrance exam.

### **2.2.2 The Chilean secondary schools curriculum**

As said before, the primary document to deliver the official CE topics is the curriculum. It is based on the regulations of The General Law of Education (LGE) regarding objectives, contents and sequences, amongst others. This Law states that education is:

...the process of lifelong learning that covers the various stages of life and aims to meet their spiritual, ethical, moral, emotional, intellectual, artistic and physical needs, through the transmission and cultivation of values, knowledge and skills. (Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile, 2009b, i)

This process is based on the view that not only parents have the right and responsibility to provide education for their children, but that this right must be safeguarded by the State. To this end, the State must fund public schools, with the objective of ensuring access of all to education.

The ‘Ley 18962 Orgánica Constitucional de Enseñanza’ (LOCE) stated the components of the national curriculum through which the purposes of education will be achieved. The curriculum for secondary schools was enacted by the Supreme Decree number 220 in 1998. MINEDUC sought to promote the decentralisation of the curriculum by giving schools the chance to choose either the implementation of PP proposed by MINEDUC or to design their own plans.

The education Curriculum 1998 aimed at enabling the student to continue studies in both higher education and for incorporation into working life. It established nine different areas for the academic stream, which are Language and Communication; Mathematics; History and Social Sciences; Philosophy and Psychology; Natural Sciences; Technological Education; Artistic Education; Physical Education; and Religion; and thirteen areas for the technical-vocational stream. The Curriculum Update 2009 redefines the areas for both streams. In the case of the academic one, the areas are Language and Communication; Foreign Language: English; Indigenous Language; Mathematics; History, Geography and Social Sciences; and Natural Sciences. For the technical-vocational stream, the curriculum establishes eight different areas.

The Curriculum 1998 establishes ‘fundamental objectives’, or learning outcomes, which are the competences or capabilities that students should achieve by the end of secondary education (MINEDUC, 1998). The OF are the competences or capabilities that students

should accomplish in each course and level during the four years of secondary education through learning and experiences related to the areas of the curriculum. These are divided into vertical objectives which are those students should achieve in each level or year of secondary school; and transverse objectives (OFT) which refer to knowledge, skills, attitudes, values and behaviours that students are expected to develop in the personal, intellectual, moral and social context, and have a general and comprehensive character. Their achievement is based on the formation of a curriculum set or subset that crosses traditional subject matter boundaries, i.e. they transcend a specific field of knowledge. The curriculum also establishes CMO, which are formulated as teaching outcomes. It is compulsory for all types of schools to follow these requirements and all of them had the approval of the High Council of Education (MINEDUC, 2009).

The CMO describes the specific knowledge, abilities, and attitudes that must be taught to students if they are to meet the fundamental objectives for each level. They are expressed as a comprehensive set of detailed performance objectives for each subject taught. Content defined as ‘knowledge’ by MINEDUC includes concepts, conceptual systems, and information about facts, procedures, processes, and operations. The Curriculum for Secondary Schools can be summarised in the Figure 2.1.

MINEDUC makes a distinction between the curriculum framework and several documents that support its implementation. These are study plans, study programmes, and textbooks; all of them must be developed in accordance with the prescribed curriculum framework.

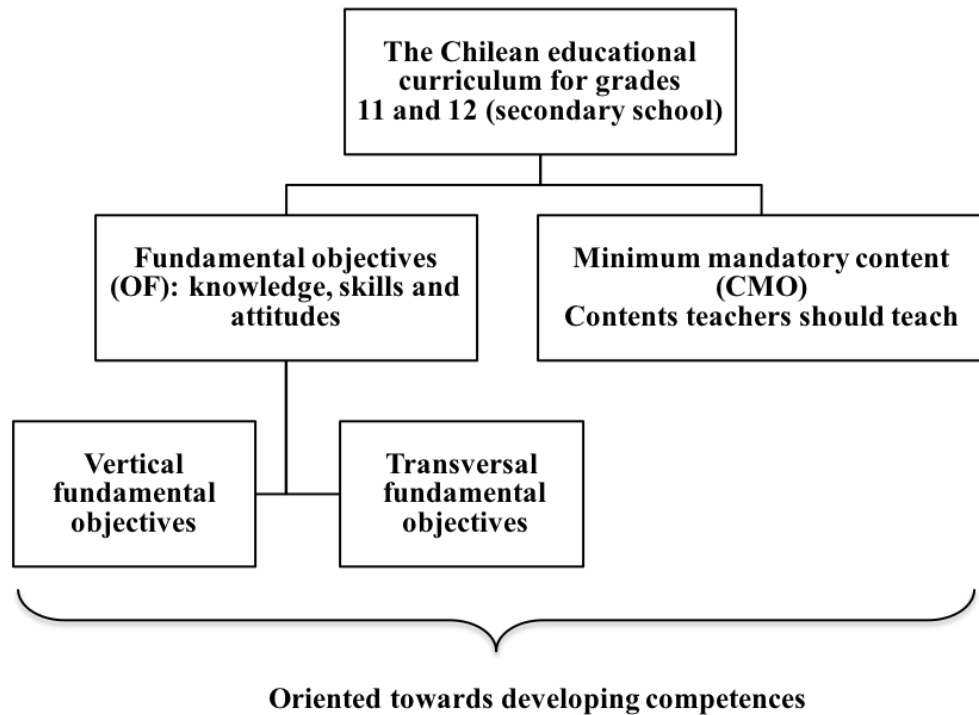
The study plans define the number and organisation of hours for each school year. Included within them is an outline of the number of school subjects to be taught in each school year and the allocation of hours per week to teach.

The study programmes are education tools that help schools and teachers to organise the curricular components of each school subject in order to explain and prioritise the OF and CMO established for students at each grade level. They are essential guidelines for the achievement of curriculum goals. They present objectives, content, teaching methods, and assessment orientations, divided into learning units. Suggestions for activities to help teachers plan their lessons are also included.

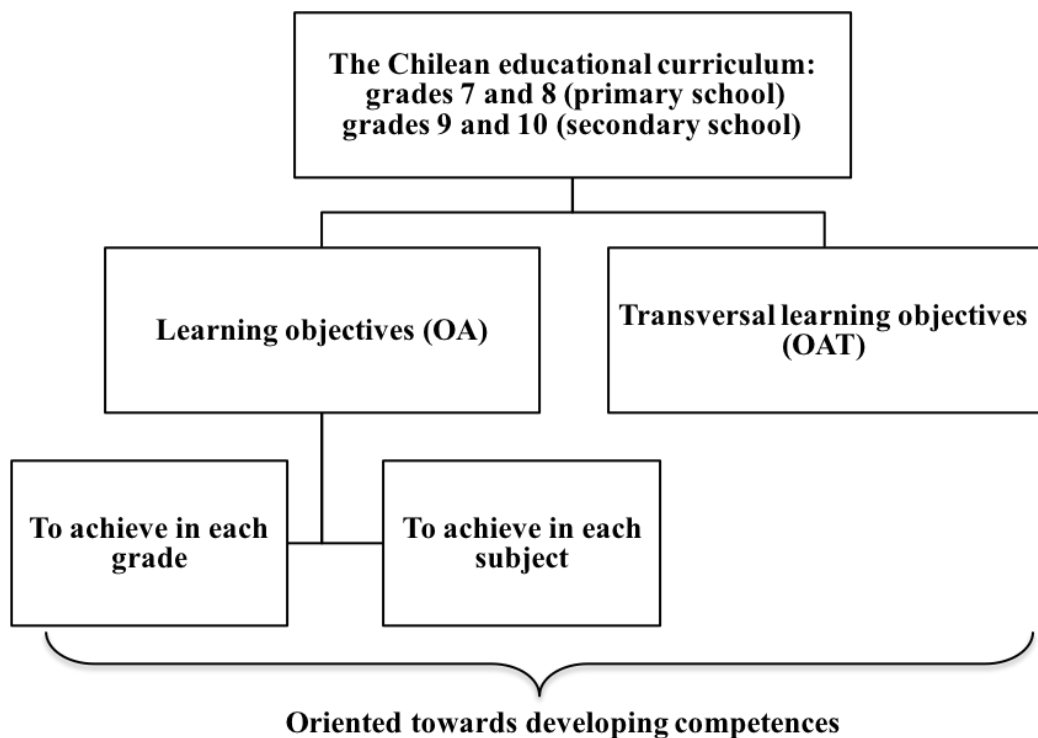
In 2015, MINEDUC updated the curriculum organisation for grades 7 and 8 of primary

education and 9 and 10 of secondary education. The following figures show two types of the Chilean curriculum:

**Figure 2.1 The Chilean educational curriculum (update 2009)**



**Figure 2.2 The Chilean educational curriculum (update 2015)**



According to the aims of this study, it is relevant to present some characteristics of the subject HGSC as it through these that the contents on citizenship are delivered. It is intended to develop in students the knowledge, skills and dispositions that enable them to structure an understanding of the social environment and its different components, characteristics and processes (MINEDUC, 1998). History was identified as the central discipline, with the content for geography, economics, and civics organised around it. This area of History also aims to guide students to act responsibly and critically in their social contexts, based on principles of solidarity, care of the environment, pluralism, democratic values and national identity, all aspects of citizenship. The text ‘Secondary Schools Curriculum: Fundamental Objectives and Minimum Mandatory Content’ states that the History and Social Sciences area offers a set of conceptual approaches and relevant skills that can help students to understand better their lives and make plans for the future. At the same time, it argues that it helps them to understand their social context and the contemporary world, reflect on the course of current events and to feel empowered as individuals to actively participate at various levels in solving the problems of society. This general approach involves bringing the reality experienced by the student to the centre of the area of study. This area aims to make students know and understand the rights and duties involved in democratic life, including responsible participation in community activities.

The curriculum of the specific area of History and Social Sciences, must include the development of methodological strategies that encourage active learning for students to awaken their curiosity, develop the ability to find and organise information, make independent judgments and solve problems, through conducting research, reporting and writing essays, taking part in forums, discussions and group work. This curriculum has a substantial contribution to make to the intellectual development and civic education of students, more so when it is considered that upon their graduation they will be able to fully exercise their civic rights. In this sense, the curriculum should include the recognition of the legitimacy of the diversity of views and the ability to argue and debate, which are essential for participation in a pluralistic society. It is also particularly relevant to promote civic values, as in Chile citizens are allowed to vote at the age of 18.

For this reason, the experts involved in the enactment of the curriculum acknowledged

that one should come to appreciate the legitimacy of different points of view and capacity for argument and debate. History was seen as a discipline with the capability to promote such development, as well as to promote empathy and a commitment to social justice (Zúñiga et al., 2015).

Another important area of study related to CE in Chile is ‘Philosophy and Psychology’. It contributes to the development of a reflective and critical attitude, both regarding own and the others’ beliefs, the skill to judge independently, the tolerance and respect for divergent views, amongst others (MINEDUC, 2009). Philosophy includes understanding the human being as a subject who is a participant in groups and cultures, valuing their identity, respecting diversity and appreciating the dialogue and understanding between people. These attitudes and skills are related to what various citizenship theories state as necessary to be developed by a ‘good citizen’ (Schulz, Ainley, Friedman et al., 2010).

MINEDUC carried out an evaluation of the curriculum in the mid-2000s. International reports in education showed the shortcomings in attainment, a situation that prompted a review of several policies in education (MINEDUC, 2009). The Chilean Government intended to implement several reforms in education to improve its quality. One of the measures taken was the enactment of a new curriculum framework, which is defined as an ‘adjustment’ of the Curriculum 1998 rather than a new document. The mentioned evaluation also reviewed the role of teachers in the process of education.

### **2.2.3 Pedagogy in the Chilean educational curriculum**

Teachers play a fundamental role in the education system as they carry the responsibility of delivering the knowledge students need in their formal education. What approaches for pedagogy and what tools teachers use are a matter of discussion and debate; therefore, MINEDUC proposes the guidelines which are contained in the Programmes (MINEDUC, 1998). For each unit, the study programme defined the expected learning outcomes, content to be taught, examples of activities, and examples of assessment tasks. They also contained suggestions for teachers, which were detailed descriptions of how to implement activities proposed.

In the Curriculum 1998, teachers were encouraged to facilitate activities in which students would develop their curiosity, conduct research, generate their own judgements, and engage in problem solving exercises. The study programmes particularly promoted

engagement in research projects, essays, reports, debates, and team work, as they are considered to be activities that help students to create their own knowledge (MINEDUC, 1998; Zúñiga et al., 2015).

Study programmes gave teachers freedom of action to adapt contents and time for each unit, i.e. the examples of activities for teachers were offered only as suggestions. Teachers were encouraged to think of their students' need and the particular context of schools as while some activities proposed might be successful in one context, they might be less successful in another. Thus, the autonomy of teachers was highly promoted and the analysis and understanding of historical processes had to be ensured.

The approach to teaching HGSC advocated working with different sources of information to avoid biased explanations of historical processes (MINEDUC, 1998). Numerous examples of activities were offered to help to promote research skills and working with such different sources as historical maps, books, images, pictures, videos, and audio tapes. Also, for each teaching and learning unit a research project was suggested so that students could have the opportunity to conduct authentic research. To this end, it was advocated that they should interrogate documents and conduct interviews (MINEDUC, 1998, Zúñiga et al., 2015). The Study Programmes also emphasised the relevance of understanding historical processes and trends, instead of focusing on the learning of historical facts and dates in a chronological order.

The Study Programmes of HGSC were designed to be developed with a correspondent textbook. At the end of each unit, the programmes presented a glossary with the main concepts to be taught, a reference list and an explanation of the recommended teaching methods (MINEDUC, 1998).

With the purpose of ensuring quality in education and monitoring all proposals made in the curriculum and education documents, all modifications and updates of the curriculum were conducted by the Unidad de Curriculum y Evaluación or UCE (Curriculum and Assessment Unit). This is a section within MINEDUC dedicated exclusively to the study of curricular issues. It conducted the studies that have led to reforms in education in the last fifteen years.

The new modified curriculum framework for secondary schools, designed in 2009, started to be implemented in 2010 for grade 9 students and was to be progressively implemented

over the following years. It was planned that the implementation of changes for grade 12 students will be completed by 2014 (MINEDUC, 2010a). Within this new configuration, while the main objectives of the discipline have not experimented major changes, the sequence of content have been modified (Espinoza, 2014; Zúñiga et al., 2015). One example is that in the curriculum 1998 students received contents of the regional and national context of Chile (grade 9), history of Latin America (grade 10), history of civilisations (grade 11) and in grade 12, the topics on global scenario, cultural diversity and contemporary context. In the version 2009, modules first cover international issues and history (grade 9), the indigenous context and Spaniard influence in the configuration of the Chilean society (grade 10), Chile in the 20th century (grade 11); and the rule of law, justice and citizenship concepts (grade 12).

#### **2.2.4 Citizenship education in Chile**

Along with the educational reforms during the first two Concertación governments of Patricio Aylwin (1990-1994) and Eduardo Frei (1994-2000), MINEDUC emphasised the need to review the status of the Chilean CE. This decision was made in response to the renewed interest in citizenship and CE in global and Latin American contexts, as well as because of the results shown by some studies about educational attainment, specifically the CIVED conducted by The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) in 1999 (Torney-Purta et. al, 1999). The CIVED states that 8th-grade Chilean students achieved scores in civic knowledge that are significantly lower than the international average, and that put them in the last place in the overall standings.

One of the actions taken by MINEDUC was to commission in 2004, a group of academics to review the current curriculum in terms of CE and propose courses of action to improve its quality. The Citizenship Education Commission aimed to present an informed view of the new requirements of democratic citizenship, as well as criteria and measures for improving CE in the school experience (MINEDUC, 2004). At the same time, this Commission worked on defining what citizenship is – a definition that would be suitable for the Chilean context.

The Commission states in its report that citizenship is related to the membership of individuals in each society, which means that citizens recognise a form of ‘common belonging’ that helps shape their identity, promotes collaboration, and establishes



loyalties. To be a ‘citizen’ is perhaps an essential condition of men and women in contemporary societies and meets basic functions in communities that are exposed to rising and sustained modernisation. It establishes limits to the state, rights for individuals and obligations and responsibilities of common life. This report also argues that contemporary citizenship includes the condition of titular of a set of basic rights for all, including civil rights as a limit on state power; rights of political participation which include the voices of all sectors; and the social rights which express the expectations of the people of having the same opportunities to share the social and collective achievements of a community. The awareness that membership of a political community involves certain basic duties that weigh equally on all, including the respect of common rules, especially the law, to participate in volunteer groups and in organisations that shape community life. The cultivation of virtues necessary for community life, such as respect and protection of public and private property, mutual loyalty among members of the community and willingness to influence collective life in a peaceful and responsible manner, with full respect for the rights of all. The report also poses that to understand that citizenship is not a natural human condition represents a challenge and responsibility for democratic institutions which have to inspire people to develop into ‘good citizens’, i.e. a condition as human beings that meets the three characteristics above.

This Commission also reports an important issue for this study about the teaching of citizenship. Primary and secondary school teachers have proposed that CE and specifically civic education should be a priority in the curriculum, and its contents to be taught throughout all courses (not limited to any particular course or area). On the other hand, several studies conducted in the period between 2001-2003 show that not all the contents related to CE have been taught, e.g. only 6.1% of the content related to Chilean economic history in the 20th century was covered in 2001 (MINEDUC, 2004). This situation obviously affects CE aims about helping students to get the knowledge to become active citizens, as they only received a few contents of citizenship proposed in the curriculum. The knowledge is crucial in the development of citizenship skills.

Concerning the current situation of the Chilean CE and its aims, Chile defines transverse goals and content for this learning area (Cox, 2010). The implementation of civic and CE was influenced by the transition from dictatorship to a democratic government after 1990. As stated in the ICCS Report 2009, one of the main factors that shaped the CE curriculum was ‘the social perception of low levels of youth participation in formal activities (such

as voting and participating in political parties) and of their increasing involvement in informal civil organisations (such as groups with common interests or causes)’ (Schulz, Ainley, Friedman et.al, 2010, 26). Some of the aims of civic and CE in Chile are to ensure students know their personal rights and responsibilities; develop the skills, knowledge, and attitudes that are appropriate for democracy; are committed to their country, and to human rights and democracy; develop the ability to critically assess public information and express their opinions; have the opportunity to study history in a way that allows them to understand current problems; and promotes students’ civic participation and involvement in addressing problems in their communities.

In 2016, MINEDUC promulgated the law 20911 ‘Citizenship education plan for the educational establishments recognised by the State’. This law stipulates that a citizen training plan must be included at the pre-school, primary and secondary school levels, which integrates and complements the national curricular definitions in this area. It should provide students with the necessary preparation to assume a responsible life in a free society and guide them toward the overall improvement of the human being, as the foundation of the democratic system, social justice and progress. Likewise, it should promote the training of citizens with values and knowledge to foster the development of the country, with a vision of the world centred on the human being, as part of a natural and social environment (Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional, 2016).

### **2.2.5 The Chilean education system today: outcomes shaped by neoliberalism**

This section is included to reflect on whether outcomes of the Chilean education system show that reforms led by Concertación Governments have contributed to a decrease in the inequality in the system given by different issues like a neoliberal educational agenda, and have improved attainments in CE. As Schleicher (2014) argues, Chile has improved its educational system but the pace of change has still not reached the level of dynamism to match its status as an industrialised economy.

One of the issues when addressing CE in the Chilean context is that Chilean society, public discourse and the educational curricula express the expectation that students should grow into future citizens exercising their rights and duties, and that the education system has a significant role to play in this. However, weaknesses are evident in the Chilean educational system through large-scale studies at the international and national levels

such as the ICCS and the OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). These shortcomings are mainly reflected in the unequal educational attainment of students depending on various factors such as socioeconomic status, the region of origin and gender, among others. These results are also visible in some studies of civic knowledge. The ICCS 2016 (Agencia de Calidad de la Educación, 2017), reports that 8<sup>th</sup> grade students' civic knowledge in Chile is under the international average score and has not significantly changed since 2009. Students who belong to high socioeconomic groups achieved better scores. This study also shows that only half or less of Chilean students rely on the government, parliament and the courts of justice, below the international average and with a significant drop since 2009; participation in political activities outside the school is low (lower than the international average score) and their expectations of future electoral participation are lower than the international average, although higher than those actually observed in the elections. In what Chile presents an improvement compared to 2005 is in the social participation of students outside the school like in volunteer groups and the participation within the school, scores slightly higher than the international average; Chile is among the three countries with the most favourable attitude towards the equality of rights of the different ethnic groups and gender equality.

This leads us to reflect on whether the current educational model contributes to or hinders the development of future citizens. According to an OECD (2010) report, there are three major learning gaps: the gap between an average Chilean student and an average student of OECD countries; the one between private education and subsidised education (municipal and private subsidised); and the gap between students belonging to the highest socioeconomic groups and students of the lowest socioeconomic groups.

The OECD PISA (OECD, 2010) in which Chile participated in 2000, 2006 and 2009 showed that in reading in 2009, only 6% of Chilean students were in the top two levels of performance. Chile is the country with the highest socioeconomic segregation in PISA: 51.4% of the variance in socioeconomic level occurs between institutions; the OECD average is 25.4% (OECD, 2010). Even when someone could argue that these results on PISA might not be significant to reflect the current educational situation in Chile, I agree with what Schleicher (2014) points out:

The relationship between the PISA scores and the life chances of people is frighteningly strong...we can see the PISA competences almost directly translated into employment, earning, social

outcomes; for a country like Chile there were huge social disparities in the outcomes, that's a real challenge... at the level of economic development that Chile has achieved you would expect a lot stronger result; the results we see in the school system do not match the requirement of society and economy in Chile.

The Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) provides reliable and timely data on the mathematics and science achievement of U.S. 4<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> grade students compared to that of students in other countries. TIMSS data were collected in 1995, 1999, 2003, and 2007. The results show that Chilean students achieved low scores, and that achievement correlates with socioeconomic status (Mullis, Martin, Robitaille & Foy, 2008).

Results of the 'Sistema de Medición de la Calidad de la Educación'<sup>1</sup> (Education Quality Measurement System; the SIMCE) show that in 2008, second year secondary school students (grade 10) achieved the following scores: language, municipal 241.82, private subsidised 257.51 and private 305.89; in math, municipal 231.14, private subsidised 254.13 and private 323. Results also show significant differences between schools from different regions of Chile; schools in the Metropolitan region achieved better results in SIMCE than those in other regions, especially those with the highest rates of poverty. Another important issue is the gender difference in scores: in the Spanish Language and Communication test, girls gained an average score significantly higher than boys, beating them by 5 points. This situation is reversed in Mathematics, where boys earn significantly higher average scores than those obtained by girls (MINEDUC, 2002; MINEDUC, 2010b; Agencia de Calidad de la Educación, 2014).

As stated in the preceding paragraphs, educational outcomes in Chile have not been consistent with the political intentions of improving the quality of education, in consequence of CE, and reducing its inequality. There are substantial differences in what students achieve in educational terms depending on their socioeconomic status, the region of origin or geographical location, gender and school administration (public or private) (Becerra, 1983; Agencia de Calidad de la Educación, 2014). There is a consensus that one explanation is that a neoliberal driven-market ideology has been shaping Chilean education (Almonacid, 2004; Bonal, 2009; Waissbluth, M., Arredondo, C., Quiroga V. &

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<sup>1</sup> SIMCE is the Chilean evaluation system for education, which the Ministry of Education takes to all students which are in fourth, eighth, tenth, and eleventh grades (MINEDUC, 2002).

Diez, S., 2010). As previously described, the dictatorship of Pinochet imposed a funding model of demand (Carnoy, 1998) with a transfer of the emphasis in the educational offer towards the demand. The goal of this policy was to create an educational market where social demands could be freely articulated with educational offers, which Almonacid (2004) calls a 'quasi-educational market'. This market is characterised by mechanisms such as free choice, competition, participation of private providers, incentives and disincentives economic system, amongst others, and replaced the model based on the supply and direct provision of education by the state. These neoliberal policies have not substantially changed during the democratic governments; the new law of education and every reform is built on the neoliberal ground, although the public discourse refers to these reforms as in alignment with the current international and national demands.

In the current globalised context it is needed to expand the access to education, especially for people in the lowest socioeconomic groups (social disadvantaged groups). Bonal (2009) states that measures taken by governments in developing countries, and in the case of Chile, have been guided by neoliberal policies. This can be seen in the containment of the public expenditure, extremely permissive legislation with the expansion of private education, together with a process of educational decentralisation oriented towards cost reduction. This situation has significantly increased the social gap in access to different schooling networks and educational outcomes. There has been a rearrangement of the enrolment according to the socioeconomic level of the parents, so that those who have resources decide to send their children to private subsidised schools, leaving the municipal (public) schools as the only option for the poorest (Almonacid, 2004).

Middle and middle-low class families have seen in private education (subsidised schools) an opportunity to get better quality education, in consequence to 'improve' their socioeconomic status because, as Bonal (2009) explains, education is seen as a mechanism for breaking intergenerational poverty. The issue is that these schools not necessarily ensure the quality education families are looking for their children (Carnoy, 1998). Bonal (2009) explains that neoliberal educational ideas are focused on fighting poverty from an almost exclusively monetary nature, ignoring a set of real impediments that limit the possibilities for the poor to have a successful schooling experience. Stephen Ball, as cited by González and Parra (2015), states that parents have become consumers as they have the power to choose which type of education is better for their children (private, private subsidised or municipal); and this encourages the private offer in

education and validates a model of competition between private providers (Almonacid, 2004).

The consequences of a neoliberal educational agenda in Chile are seen in a segregated and unequal system. It is a system based on profit, which promotes privatisation and as Ball (González & Parra, 2015) argues, there is a considerable amount of research on this topic: one of the effects of privatisation is the increase of social segregation.

The described Chilean educational scenario led to the secondary school students' movement in 2006, which had its origin in the discontent due to education inequalities. One of the main demands in these mobilisations was the repeal of the LOCE because of its emphasis on the secondary role assigned to the state in matters of education and the profit in education (Coordinadora Nacional de Estudiantes Secundarios, 2011). This mobilisation led the government of President Michelle Bachelet (2006-2010) to propose improvements to the education system mainly through the creation of the LGE which has come into full effect in 2017. It is said that this student movement is a clear example of citizen mobilisation in which the main actors were the secondary school students who received support from the citizenry. As Bellino (2015) points out, historically oppressed groups (in this case secondary school students) often distrust their government based on good reasons; in the Chilean context it is the unfulfilled promise of quality and equality education for all. This political distrust and disappointment in the public discourse in education has served as a call for a collective movement.

The persistent inequality and lack of quality in education in Chile and the feeling that what was achieved because of the students' movement in 2006 was not enough to overcome the problems in education led to new mobilisations. A series of nationwide demonstrations by university and secondary school students took place from May to November 2011. This mobilisation demanded a profound educational reform that ensured equality and free education for all from the government (Coordinación Nacional de Estudiantes Secundarios, 2011).

One last issue concerning education and its shortcomings is the lack of participation in decision-making processes by social groups (Del Valle, 2006), a situation that is reflected in youth and students' public participation. Del Valle suggests that in Chile participatory processes occur in a vertical direction, from the nation-state, which tries to administer and

manage citizenship from the legal, legislative, and administrative sphere. That is, the logic to encourage citizenship participation is vertical and thought as something that can and should be imposed. In other words, students are absent from the decisions and reforms occurring in Chile. They might have boosted the reforms (Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile, 2009b), but there is not enough evidence that they were actively involved in the enactment of the new law of education and the curriculum.

### **2.3 Summary**

This chapter presented an introduction to Chile and the Chilean educational context from dictatorship to democratic governments (1990–2013). One first reflection was the contradictions between the macroeconomic results and the achievements in education during the dictatorship of Pinochet (1973-1990). Pinochet replaced the emphasis on the state as the main guarantor of public education for a funding model of demand. Neoliberal ideologies influenced the new system, with a strong priority on privatisation and the transfer of the ownership of public schools to municipalities and private institutions and corporations.

After the dictatorship, the government reviewed the education structure and philosophy and determined that the two failures were its low quality and social inequality in access to quality education. This revision resulted in reforms which included the LOCE; several levels of education (pre-school, primary, secondary and tertiary education); compulsory primary and secondary education; and a new curriculum. However, the neoliberal ideas, on which the education system is based, have not substantially changed in democracy.

The education Curriculum 1998 aimed at enabling the student to continue studies in both higher education and for incorporation into working life. It established nine different areas for the academic stream and thirteen for the technical-vocational one. It defined fundamental objectives which are the competences or capabilities that students should achieve by the end of secondary education; and minimum mandatory contents, which are formulated as teaching outcomes. Several documents support the implementation of the curriculum such as study PP and textbooks.

Chile was seen as a successful country since the recovery of democracy. However, the reforms implemented in education did not match what was achieved in economic terms. The persistent inequality and lack of quality in education led to a students' movement in 2006, demanding better education for all. Some reforms implemented were a new LGE and an update of the curriculum.

The Curriculum Update 2009 redefined the areas for both streams - the academic and vocational; established that the OF and CMO were oriented towards the development of competences. HGSC is the subject in which the contents on citizenship are delivered. It aimed to guide students to act responsibly and critically in their social contexts and know and understand the rights and duties involved in democratic life, including responsible participation in community activities.

In 2004, MINEDUC mandated a review of the Chilean CE because of a renewed interest in citizenship, the lack of youth political participation and the results of some studies about educational attainment and students' civic knowledge. The Citizenship Education Commission presented a view of the new requirements of democratic citizenship, definitions of citizenship and criteria and measures for improving CE in schools.

The Chilean curriculum in CE defined transverse goals and contents for this learning area, delivered primarily in HGSC, Philosophy and Psychology and focused on the competences students should achieve to become active citizens.

International research in education (PISA, ICCS, TIMMS, among others) showed shortcomings of the Chilean education system. The reforms led by Concertación Governments have contributed to a decrease in the inequality in education but do not match the needs and demands of the Chilean society, which also needs a quality CE to respond to the rapid changes in today's world. This situation has been the reason for new students' mobilisations in 2011, with the demand for equality and free education for all. A final reflection was the lack of participation of students in the enactment of educational documents.

The next chapter is focused on a theoretical review of citizenship and CE, aiming at narrowing the debate to develop a dialogue between conceptualisations and findings from the case studies of this thesis.



## Chapter 3. Citizenship and citizenship education

### 3.1 Introduction

This section is aimed at reviewing the relevant literature related to citizenship and citizenship education. It presents conceptualisations and classifications of citizenship and citizen. Approaches to conceptualise a ‘citizen’ are presented in relation to different issues such as the Nation-State, the global context, political affiliation, the condition of being human and participation. After presenting these approaches, I discuss whether youth should be considered as citizens. Once these issues have been discussed, I review the literature on education for citizenship and citizenship education. The review is focused on exploring the main approaches to defining CE, cosmopolitan CE, and the role the school plays in CE. This section ends with a summary of the literature review and the research questions.

Citizenship as a concept, in the words of Bellamy & Palumbo (2010, xvi):

...is different not only to other types of political affiliation, such as subjecthood in monarchies or dictatorships, but also to other kinds of social relationship, such as being a parent, a friend, a partner, a neighbour, a colleague or a customer.

This is because it has a distinctive role in social and political terms, which has been discussed by many theorists.

As Abowitz and Harnish (2006) affirm, not only are there likely to be multiple citizenship discourses operating within given contexts at any one time but, furthermore, curricular, and instructional approaches to citizenship are increasingly shaped by a number of critical standpoints such as feminism, culturalism, reconstructionism, and transnationalism.

In this sense, considering the wide range of definitions and characteristics given to citizenship and the nature of this study, this literature review offers a brief description of the current context for citizenship and definitions of citizenship and citizen, the liberal/social democratic, conservative/neoliberal, and social/left definitions of citizen and CE as well as social policy and pedagogical aspects connected to CE.

### 3.2 Conceptualisations of citizenship and the citizen

To define citizenship, like any other concept in academia, presents challenges, and in order to surmount the difficulties presented by the nature of citizenship, an effort must be made to clarify citizenship and its issues. Bellamy & Palumbo (2010, xix) delivers a definition that summarises some key issues of what is meant by citizenship:

...it is a condition of civic equality. It consists of a membership of a political community where all citizens can determine the terms and benefits of social cooperation on an equal basis. This status not only secures equal rights to the enjoyment of the collective goods provided by the political association but also involves equal duties to promote and sustain them – including the good of democratic citizenship itself.

Bellamy presents a concept regarding a ‘condition’ and ‘status’, and other authors such as Faulks (2006, 123), incorporate some of the issues that might influence those views, such as the context in which citizenship is defined. In his words:

...citizenship is both a dynamic and contested concept, as rights and responsibilities change over time as the result of social struggle, economic change and shifts in governing ideology. Indeed, part of the appeal of citizenship as a political tool is its inherent flexibility.

The starting point for any discussion about citizenship is to accept that controversies and contradictions between conceptualisations have always been present in the academia debate. However, several classifications have been made, allowing a better understanding of its different issues; classifications, definitions and views of citizenship are presented in the next section.

#### 3.2.1 Conceptualisations of citizenship

Following the ideas of Faulks (2013), one way to classify citizenship is according to different periods in history, starting from the ancient Greek to the present day. Changes in the way to classify or understand citizenship are based on changes in the nature of the democratic political community and the qualities needed to be a citizen. As Bellamy & Palumbo (2010, iv) argue:

...the city-states of ancient Greece, which first gave rise to the notion of citizenship, were quite different to the ancient Roman republic or the city-states of renaissance Italy, and all differed

tremendously from the nation-states that emerged in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and that still provide the primary context for citizenship today.

Starting from the Athenian polis, most current understandings of citizenship are influenced by how thinkers constructed this polis. Citizenship was a status, the communities were defined on a small scale, the extent of citizenship was exclusive and all types of inequality naturalised; the content was focused on obligations and the context for citizenship was the slave society and the agricultural production (Faulks, 2013). What makes a citizen in the Ancient Greek, as proposed by Aristotle, is the political nature of human beings, as he called it 'men are political animals' (as cited in Faulks, 2013). This political nature compels citizens to get involved in public issues, usually centred around common commitments to civic duty in governing and defending the state (Heater 1999; Faulks 2013). Lister (2003) points out that individual interests were submitted to the common good. For Aristotle (as cited in Marshall & Bottomore, 1992), the only way in which men can realise their full potential as political animals is by their participation in the affairs of a polis or, in other words, in the city-state. Another issue is that being born in a certain city-state does not guarantee the status of citizen, for example, resident foreigners and slaves were not citizens (Faulks, 2013, 169). There were privileged classes for which citizenship was not a matter of discussion. In this Ancient Greek society workers, slaves, women, and children were excluded from the benefits and status of citizenship. In other words, citizenship was essentially an inherited status (Heater, 1999).

In pre-modern times, citizenship did not include large sections of the populations, and especially women were excluded from it. The division between citizen and non-citizen signified inequalities that were taken to be natural and immutable.

From the XVII century (modern period), as Peled (2007, 103) states:

Citizenship has been characterised by three essential features: membership in a political community that transcends all other memberships a person might have, and that entails some degree of mutual responsibility between all members; a certain level of equality of rights guaranteed to all who are considered citizens; and an executive limited by the rule of law.

Modern citizenship was influenced by ideologies from liberalism. It proposed that all individuals have rights to life, liberty, and property; liberal ideologies defend equality and

freedom for all individuals and the political community as a guarantor of these freedoms. In words of Marshall (1950, 28):

Citizenship is a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community... all who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed.

In modern periods, the community in which citizenship is recognised is a legal community. The key event was the French revolution, in which citizenship is ‘fused’ with the nation-state (Faulks, 2013). This relationship between citizenship and the nation-state and the idea of citizens being defined in relation to a membership to a certain state is discussed in next sections of this chapter. Citizenship has several components: the civil one is the right necessary for individual freedom (freedom of speech, religion, justice, to own property, etc.); the political component which is the right to participate in the exercise of political power as a member of a body invested with social authority or as an elector; and the social element which includes all the range of possible rights of individuals (Marshall, 1950).

The extent of citizenship is progressively inclusive and theoretical egalitarian but limited by statist context. The content of citizenship is rights and limited duties, and its context is patriarchal, racialised and founded on a capitalist state system, with an economy based on industrial production (Faulks, 2013). Modern citizenship definition entails an understanding of several interrelated components, as it has been said, the status of the citizenship itself, what this status ensures for those who hold it and the responsibilities, duties, and obligations that the state expects from its citizenry (Heater 2004). As Faulks (2013) points out, rights always require a framework for their recognition and mechanisms through which they can be fulfilled. Such a social structure, which includes several organisations and institutions, requires that citizens all play their part to maintain it. This means that citizenship implies duties and obligations.

Citizenship as a status was understood as that condition for which all individuals were able to fulfil their rights, making the society more egalitarian. According to Marshall and Bottomore (1992), to achieve an equal society the role of the state is to ensure welfare for all society. To pursue this goal, the state has to diminish the inequalities caused by capitalism (the dominant socioeconomic model), but to leave social class otherwise intact as capitalism benefits people from all social classes although at different rates. One of the

critiques of this concept is that Marshall does not recognise that capitalism is intrinsically unequal. Another critique, as Faulks (2006, 124) claims is 'his focus upon the administration of rights by the agents of the state at the expense of the participatory aspects of citizenship'. The absence of 'gender' and 'race' in Marshall's theory has also been criticised by the academia.

Faulks (2013) argues that liberals are 'obsessed' with defending abstract individual rights and have often overlooked the power structures that can either facilitate or constrain citizens in the exercise of their rights and the performance of their responsibilities. Thus, 'citizenship was fragmented during the nineteenth century...as it was exclusionary, depriving indigenous peoples, blacks, women and other marginalised groups of public recognition' (Roniger, 2006, 495).

In the late modern period, excluded social groups started to demand equality. As Faulks (2013, 3) comments:

Campaigns for the extension of citizenship have ranged from the anti-slavery movement in Britain in the eighteenth century, women's movements demanding the vote in the early twentieth century, African American in the 1960s campaigning for basic civil rights, to gay activists in the 1990s protesting that the age of consent is equalised with heterosexuals.

Along with these demands, western societies were facing contradictory social processes at different levels: local, regional, and global. These processes questioned the relationship between citizenship and the state as human beings are locally and globally bound to rights and responsibilities (Heater 2004).

This context of social demands and global context are the foundation for post-liberal citizenship, which includes ideas from socialism, republicanism, communitarianism, feminism and ecologism, amongst others. Joppke (2007, 38) proposes that citizenship is conceived as a combination of status, rights, and identity, but still intrinsically related to a state:

...in the status dimension, the most significant development in the past half century has been the liberalization of access to citizenship, removing sexual and racial barriers to naturalization and upgrading territory over descent in the birth attribution of citizenship. The inevitable result of this opening of the citizenry is its internal diversification along ethnic, racial, and religious

lines...With the ethnic diversification of society, the basis for social rights becomes brittle while other types of right move to the fore: rights of anti-discrimination and multicultural recognition.

In post-liberal citizenship, social movements led by citizens has arisen worldwide. However, regardless the type of demand (sexual, multicultural, or ecological), it always entails demands on the state to do certain things. The issue is that states have lost part of the control and power over the people on so many fronts in the age of globalisation (Joppke, 2007). In this context, citizens are demanded to keep an active participation in society to meet their expectations and demands despite the lack of power of the state.

One of the issues that have largely influenced concepts and understandings of citizenship are neoliberal ideologies and capitalism as an economic system. The neoliberal citizenship has been justified by authors such as Hayek, Friedman and Murray, among others (King & Waldron, 1988). They criticise Marshallian concepts arguing that the role of the state should be to protect negative freedoms (civil and political rights), and to leave all other matters to the market. The central assumptions of conservative/neoliberal citizenship are in close alignment with the economies of neoliberalism. Its principal argument is that the role of the market is greater than the state's in economic matters, i.e. its emphases are the market, liberalisation, deregulation, decentralisation, privatisation, and a reduced role for the state (Chang & Grabel, 2004). In this view, the individual level has priority for this form of citizenship and the only obligation the state has is to protect rights, just preventing certain situations that may occur rather than taking any action when rights are not respected. Kennedy (2009) argues that under neoliberal conceptions the state ceases to be the primary provider of social welfare (health, education, transport, etc.) and these services are opened to the market. Therefore, citizens should be more active in the neoliberal state to guarantee the quality and type of services to which they are entitled. In other words, the citizen must develop self-regulation to ensure their rights are protected. Roniger (2006, 491) describes the context of countries influenced by neoliberal economies and ideologies as it follows:

In the context of growing socioeconomic gaps, impoverishment and marginalization, large segments of the population have practically lost contact with the state or are connected through new forms of clientelism, state corruption and crime.

Roniger (2006) also points out that the public domain has experienced a diversification and fragmentation in the context of Latin-American countries. Governments in the

continent have tried during the last three decades to enact alternative policy and anti-policies in parallel with new experiments in communitarian and bottom-up democracy to counteract negative neoliberal influences. These new scenarios of democracy have led to reassessments in what is meant by citizenship today and to trace back its uneven development in Latin America.

In a (neoliberal) globalised context, citizenship is often related to human capital ideas, i.e. citizens help to build a knowledge-based economy in which economic growth and human wellbeing are crucial. Barnett and Coate (2005) argue that a reproductive knowledge is needed for the pursuit economic development, and Hargreaves (2011) emphasises that one of the imperatives for the 21<sup>st</sup> century is the economic one for which the training of dynamic and responsible citizen leaders is crucial to build that economy. Zepke (2013, np) suggests that according to human capital ideas, active citizens should be ‘globally competent learners who vote, pay their taxes and contribute to the economic health of their society’.

Socialist/left social democratic citizenship is also analysed in this chapter. This citizenship is diametrically opposite to the neoliberal form. Dwyer (2010, 59) states: ‘a combination of Marxist scepticism and democratic socialist optimism has been influential in mapping out the Left’s position on social citizenship in recent decades’.

The main postulate of this approach is that the neoliberal model perpetuates and increases inequalities among individuals in a specific country and between countries. The elite exploits a large proportion of people throughout the world and individuals are understood as ‘users’ of the system. This approach also criticises the notion of ‘welfare state’ arguing that the state remains essentially capitalist, but now delivers social rights. Offe (1982) also claims that social rights (a notion from liberal citizenship) are repressive because, in order to access them, citizens are subject to the social control of state bureaucracies and these serve to hide the real causes of inequality inherent in capitalism. Having noted the limitations of citizenship related to social welfare (social democratic citizenship), Alcock (1989) argues that citizenship that really promotes and extends universal rights to welfare can benefit everybody and help to empower previously excluded groups. Contemporary left views see a reformulated notion of citizenship as having value in challenging the paternalistic assumptions and lack of accountability that characterised state welfare in the past (Dwyer, 2010).

The world economy has become more globalised, and the nation-state is more eroded by the global market. International corporations own the national economy on an increasing scale, and it may be that traditional forms of citizenship cannot express or do not correspond to the idea of a global market. Along with this phenomenon, Giddens (2003) describes the contemporary world as being consumer led; being consumers is most important than being citizens. They have adopted a more consumer-oriented and critical view of democratic politics and politicians have likewise treated citizens more like consumers and both marketised the public sector (Bellamy & Palumbo, 2010).

In the scenario described, several approaches have emerged as a response to the inequalities generated by both the welfare state and neoliberal systems. As it has been said, citizens have been protesting to demand respect for their rights. In a context of global capitalism, as Turner (1999, 266) argue, there is an emerging notion of human rights, which has to be respected:

Human rights are typically conferred upon people as humans irrespective of whether they are Australian, British, Chinese, Indonesian or whatever, but, because human rights legislation has been accepted by the nations of the world, people can claim human rights, even where they are stateless people or dispossessed refugees.

Other approaches emerge as a response to the prevailing model. Peterson and Knowles (2009) for example define the alternative model of communitarian and civic republican citizenship. For them, citizenship constitutes not simply a legal status but a practice that occurs as a member of a political community. In other words, from communitarian and civic republican positions, being a full citizen necessarily entails active participation in the political community (Crick, 2002).

This summary of different classifications of citizenship allows an overview of how historically the discussion about the concept of citizenship has been developed. Nowadays it is accepted that citizenship can often consist of an amalgamation of seemingly contradictory aspects drawn from different discourses (Bellamy & Palumbo, 2010; Faulks, 2013).



### 3.2.2 Who is a citizen?

To answer this question, an effort must be made to summarise several links between citizenship and issues such as the nation-state idea, the global context, a political affiliation, and participation, amongst others.

One first argument proposed by Yeatman (2007) is that citizenship denotes the construction of the status of the participant in social life as ‘an individual’, who is the person or subject of right. Citizenship, then, is inherently bound up with individualism. The idea of citizenship, then demands an integrated conception of social life as one that is organised so as to support the status of the participant in social life as an individual.

The second discussion to answer, ‘who is a citizen’ is regarding the relationship between citizenship and identity. Yeatman (2007) argues that the ethos of citizenship concerns all spheres of social life for it makes no sense to say that one can be a person only in one sphere of social life and not in another. In other words, what identifies a citizen is her/his inherent condition as a human being who participates in social life in one or another way. Mouffe (1992), as cited by Turner (2000, 133) states that citizenship not only confers legal status to individuals but a particular cultural identity, which extent is to groups as well:

Whereas much of the struggle over citizenship in the early stages of industrialisation was about class membership and class struggle in the labour market, citizenship struggles (sexual identity, gay rights, gender equality, and aboriginality) in late twentieth-century society are often about claims to cultural identity and cultural history. Most debates about citizenship in contemporary political theory are as a result about the question of contested collective identity in a context of radical pluralisation.

Turner (1999, 267) argues that citizenship as identity has two possible meanings: the actual views held by ordinary people, which are associated more with behavioural traits such as honesty and hard work; and official views propagated by the state:

Since nations are created as imaginary communities, the communal basis of citizenship has to be constantly renewed within the collective memory by nostalgic festivals, public ceremonies of national struggle and effervescent collective experience, all this promoted by the nation-state as well. Identity is related to ‘ethnicity’ in several contexts because it takes factors of culture and location into account but still refers to origin and ancestry.

The term ‘identity’ is more complex than either of these meanings because an individual can have multiple identities based on race or ethnicity, culture, location, gender, religion, politics, socioeconomic status and so on. Identities are constructed and do change over time (Frable, 1997).

### *3.2.2.1 Citizenship and the nation-state*

Historically, some sectors of the academy have defined ‘citizenship’ as a form of belonging to a political community (Bellamy & Palumbo, 2010). This means people who enjoy a certain status are entitled to participate with fellow citizens in this community, making decisions that regulate social life. This political community is typically the nation-state.

Participation in a political community is given by the right to vote. This historical definition, as Nyers (2004) argues, is consistent with the idea behind the relationship between citizenry and a nation-state or state which has to provide security and protection to their citizens. Security is a condition for the pursuit of civil relations including politics. Thus, citizens who see their political rights protected by the state, are obliged to obey the law, that is, citizens have ‘rights’ and ‘duties’ for which they take responsibility. Responsibilities to the state are of many forms; many are linked to welfare conditionality, the obligation to work and participate in democracy. Turner (1999, 266) states that:

When individuals become citizens, they not only enter into a set of institutions that confers upon them rights and obligations, they not only acquire an identity; they are not only socialised into civic virtues, but they also become members of a political community with a particular territory and history. It is rather unusual for people to acquire citizenship if they are not simultaneously members of a political community, which is a nation-state.

In general, citizenship is a set of rights and obligations that are attached to members of formally recognised nation-states within the system of nations, and hence citizenship corresponds to legal membership of a nation-state. Citizenship identities and citizenship cultures are national identities and national cultures.

This idea of citizenship as a membership of an individual to a certain nation-state has been discussed over the years since the delimitation of the concept to only this relationship citizen-state would leave out issues such as identity, belonging to a community and participation of individuals in that community. As some authors propose, citizenship is a

condition that goes beyond a relationship between state and citizenry. The fact that citizens see that their rights are guaranteed by the state (e.g. the right to security) does not mean that they have developed a sense of belonging to that state (Zubaida, 1999). In the words of Delanty (2003, 602), citizenship is a learning process that involves ‘common experiences, cognitive processes, forms of cultural translation and discourses of empowerment’ and not merely the ‘membership of a polity’ and a state.

When referring to citizenship as the link between state and citizenry another limitation is that this concept and view is narrow in current scenarios because ‘nation-states’ in the 18th and 19th centuries were primary contexts for citizenship and these settings have been changing (Zubaida, 1999). In this context, the current rights debate focuses on the extension of universal social and civil rights.

### *3.2.2.2 Citizenship in the local and global context*

Several authors have focused their studies on analysing citizenship in relation to the various phenomena that influence its concepts and understandings (Bellamy & Palumbo, 2010; Faulks, 2013). These phenomena are, amongst others, globalisation, postmodernism, multiculturalism and the capacity of nation-states to coordinate and define the collective lives of their citizens. In other words, to define communities (local and national) is a challenge to states in the current scenario, and this situation alters the very character of citizenship along the way (Bellamy & Palumbo, 2010).

Falk (2000, 132) states that a combination of advanced communication systems, the growth of global markets, and the scope of multinational corporations have been continuously eroding the boundaries that have so far defined the social belonging of individuals to one particular community. World migration and the political and economic aspects of globalisation are challenging nation-states and national borders (Castles and Davidson, 2000). Accordingly, it seems that the close historical relationship between citizenship and belonging to a specific legal-political community is no longer wide enough for the global scenario in which the boundaries between states are ‘blurred’ (Falk, 2000, 133). In this sense, the principles of citizenship about ‘loyalty’ to a state, territory and national society have been replaced by the proliferation of terms such as ‘global citizen’, ‘surfer’ and the ‘nomadic subject’ (Falk, 2000, 6). The sets of relationships that constitute national state societies have gone global; the discussion is that this globalised

scenario benefits some individuals and groups, but puts the majority in a situation of exploitation (social, economic, cultural). Several years ago, Marshall (1950) already recognised that the classic account of citizenship speaks very little to the realities faced by growing numbers of the world's population, such as refugees, internally displaced persons, indigenous peoples, residents of occupied territories, and people living in areas under a state of emergency who see their citizenship rights suspended or simply not being respected (Nyers, 2004). The result, as Brysk and Shafir (2004) have argued, has been the emergence of a 'citizenship gap' that is creating differences in the rights and benefits of citizenship worldwide.

However, the phenomena of globalisation, at the same time as it constraints, provides new opportunities to claim rights on the basis of membership of a regional or global community (Sen, 2000), and increasing possibilities for addressing and redressing poverty. Meer and Sever (2004, 13) point out that 'more recently a sense of "global citizenship" has emerged in which people from all over the world come together as members of the global community'. As Giddens (1996) states, it is almost a common phrase that we are all global citizens now. However, the reinforcement of local identities emerges to counteract the influence of a globalised world in which individuals tend to dilute to form part of a big 'mass'. The processes of reshaping our global interactions have intensified:

Globalisation increasingly intrudes into the core of day-to-day life and causes profound shifts in the texture of everyday experience...they produce an accentuating of local identity, alter the conditions even of personal identity and transfigure many forms of localism. (71)

The result is greater awareness and execution of our individual responsibilities in a global world. Rights have global reach too. United Nations (UN) conventions underpin many universal rights declarations in terms of refugees, children's rights, human rights and workers' rights. National governments are expected to fulfil their obligations under such declarations and are often held to account where they fail (Giddens, 1996). The world economy becomes more and more globalised, so more workers are travelling between economies in search of employment; there will be increasing conflict in the labour market over access to global resources. As Turner (199, 274) points out:

The sovereignty of the nation-state is eroded by global market trends so that more and more of the national economy is owned by international corporations and it may be that traditional forms of citizenship cannot express or do not correspond to the idea of an increasingly global market.

Together, these multiple layers of citizenship ensure that complexity and contradiction will remain in any discussion about what it means to be a good citizen. However, the reflection and conceptualisation of the idea of citizenship and citizen should include the cosmopolitan dimension, which means that individuals, as members of a global community, are entitled to be considered citizens just because of their condition as human beings (Cabrera, 2010; Falk, 2000).

### *3.2.2.3 Citizenship as political affiliation and as a condition of being human*

It is in this context that the cosmopolitan orientation of citizenship is valuable to overcome the limitations of an understanding of citizenship only as a political affiliation. For Delanty (2010), cosmopolitan citizenship offers new possibilities for participation and rights within and beyond the state where post-national forms of inclusion take precedence over traditional criteria such as birth and residence. Dwyer (2010, 199) points out the contribution of the approach of cosmopolitan citizenship: ‘it enables individuals to make links between personal patterns of consumption and worldwide concerns about global resources, the future of the planet and the welfare of subsequent generations’.

The core of the cosmopolitan orientation is that ‘individual, not states, nations, or other groupings, are morally primary. All people are said to be equal at some fundamental level, and their equality is to be recognised or respected because of their status as human beings, rather than according to any status ascribed to them as members of an identity set’ (Cabrera, 2010, 14). This approach overcomes the barriers of the notion of citizenship that fails to address the global context in which, as has been mentioned, the boundaries between states are diffuse.

Cabrera (2010) summarises the different emphasis in the notion of cosmopolitan citizenship. One approach would understand cosmopolitanism as dictating that individuals are to be treated as the ultimate ‘units of moral concern’ according to Pogge (2008), i.e. all individuals are presumed to have equal status as the objects of moral concern. Another approach would emphasise that the cosmopolitanism is a mode of

professing allegiance to humanity; individuals ‘should behave so as to treat with equal respect the dignity of reason and moral choice in every human being’ (Nussbaum, 2002, 8). The third emphasis quoted by Cabrera (2010) is the work of Charles Beitz (2005) in which he states that one should treat others globally with equal respect through one remaining at the level of moral orientation rather than a fixed theory of cosmopolitan justice.

The acceptance of the argument of the cosmopolitan orientation of citizenship leads us to the discussion related to the ‘supranational’ level of a community. If citizenship refers to my position as a subject of rights in relation to a state, the adjective ‘cosmopolitan’ alludes to my position outside the states beyond my nationality and my birthplace. To be a citizen presupposes to be embedded in a state; to be a cosmopolitan citizen means to accept that the individual is a member of a supranational community, i.e. the ‘world’ is understood as a political-legal community. A cosmopolitan citizen is recognised as the central subject of the state's relations with its citizenry and with the international community (Nussbaum, 2002). Individual's interests must not only be considered, but also democratically represented in the formation of supra-state rules and the operation of supra-state institutions (Cabrera, 2010, 19). In this context, people from different backgrounds have to learn how to negotiate and coexist with others, altering the shape of the public life. As Parekh (2000) points out, there is both unity and diversity in public life; communities and identities overlap and are interdependent and develop common features.

#### *3.2.2.4 Citizenship and participation*

After briefly introducing some ideas about citizenship in a global context and cosmopolitan citizenship, I summarise that the concept ‘citizenship’ is not related to the practise of citizens’ rights only. It is also linked to individuals who are able to make responsible decisions in the society they live in because they have developed a sense of belonging to a community and state. As Kymlicka and Norman (1994, 353) point out, a danger for a theory of citizenship arises because there are two different concepts that are sometimes conflated in these debates: ‘citizenship as legal status’, that is, as full membership in a particular political community; and ‘citizenship as desirable activity’, where the extent and quality of one’s citizenship is a function of ones’ participation in that community. A ‘community’ is a site where local interactions of a moral and social

kind are most evident. For purposes of this study, I agree that both, full membership in a community and the participation in it, are essential characteristics of being a citizen.

The arguments about participation follows same discrepancies when defining citizenship, i.e. who is entitled to participate? A response is that a citizen is an individual entitled to participate actively in the local, national and international context not only because of a political/legal affiliation but because s/he is a human being. Meer and Sever (2004, 12) argue that participation has been seen as citizenship in practice. They also add:

Citizenship extends the right to participate to the right of such participation to be acted upon by states, communities and other decision-making bodies. It both reflects and analyses existing conditions and allows for “bottom-up” and “top-down” change in power relations. It also opens the stage to participation that is not asked for, such as in activism, campaigning or oppositional political involvement.

For some scholars, participation is related to ‘being an active citizen’. Just as there is a debate on what citizenship means, or how to define it, there is also much discussion about active citizenship and its implications.

Janoski (1998) and Kennedy (2009) propose that when addressing what active citizenship is, it should be first analysed that citizenship has two components, one 'active' and the other 'passive'. The passive component is more a state of ‘being’ rather than a process of ‘doing’ and some of its components are a national identity (history and symbols of the nation), patriotism (reflected, for example, in serving in the armed forces) and loyalty that refers to obedience and hard work on the part of citizens. Regarding ‘active’ citizenship, this implies the involvement of citizens in various spheres of the social, economic and cultural within a nation-state. This participation should include opportunities for citizens to express their opinions about different issues at the local and national levels and in decision-making processes. Some of its components are participation in conventional political activities, usually alleged by political scientists such as voting, joining a political party, being a candidate for political office; participation in community volunteer activities; participation in activities that seek to change social and political leadership; engaging in self-regulation, which relates to the economic model of citizenship, i.e. to become financially self-sufficient and a self-directed learner, solve problems creatively, adopt business values. The relationships that can be established between passive’ and

‘active’ components will be different depending on the variety of cultural contexts in which citizenship is present.

The reflection is, what are the expectations of citizenry participation? Once again, it might be limited due to the conception that the ‘right’ to participate is given primarily by political participation, i.e. the right to vote (Nyers, 2004). However, we should consider that all individuals participate in one or another way in social/political spaces, regardless age, background and gender, then all people have the power to influence decision-making processes, at least at the local level. The debate is also about what opportunities are given to citizenry to participate actively and change decisions made by the authorities; and what kind of participation we all would like to encourage.

### *3.2.2.5 Youth as citizens*

Youth is not a universal term; how young people live their experiences depends on several factors such as personality, social context, gender, age, ethnicity, religion, and cultural background, amongst others. They share common characteristics, but as Hart (2009) points out, young people should not be treated as a homogenous group in need of responsabilisation in society nor to be seen as adults; understanding young people means to consider differentials in power, status, knowledge and experience. Despite these differences, youth is as a specific life stage and is therefore inherently transitional (Roberts, 2007).

Conceptualisations of youth as citizens intersects with the idea of individuals who are entitled to participate in society. If citizenship is understood as a condition of an individual given in legal terms, meaning one who is entitled to participate in the society in which s/he lives, through the ‘vote’, then individuals under 18 years of age are not citizens yet. Osler and Starkey (2003) argue that young people are frequently presented as citizens-in-waiting, and youth is often portrayed as threatening yet politically apathetic (Hart, 2009). On the other hand, if it is considered that each person is a citizen because s/he is a human being (cosmopolitan orientation of citizenship) and has the right to participate actively in the community in which they live, then youth are citizens. This second argument leads me to consider in this study young people as citizens, not as ‘people who will become citizens when they are of age’.



Another reason to consider youth as citizens is related to the ideas developed by Staeheli (1999, 65); he points out that:

Liberal and republican theories hold that the rights and responsibilities of citizenship are borne by individuals, but the political reality is that citizenship is extended to social groups. That is, when nation-states set the rules of entry to citizenship, the debate is about the characteristics of social groups, not about individuals who might wish to become citizens. So, while theories of politics may assume individual agents, social groups and perceptions about group members as political subjects are important to understanding who a citizen is and who may exercise the rights of citizenship.

In this sense, youth is a particular social group, and beyond this, young students have more particular characteristics that differentiate them from other social groups. This group of people's experiences of citizenship are mediated by age (Lister, Smith, Middleton & Cox, 2010). I agree with Hart (2009, 645) on contradicting that 'young people have yet to reach the age of maturity and develop the appropriate cognitive capacity to participate as citizens...this argument is working from a normative definition of citizenship with fixed assumptions about the capacities that citizens should display'.

The condition of being considered a citizen leads to the discussion about the role of identity and participation as a key goal for citizenship and particularly active citizenship. Concerning identity, Kymlicka and Norman (1994, 369) affirm that being a citizen 'is not just a certain status, defined by a set of rights and responsibilities. It is also an identity, an expression of one's membership in a political community'. John Shotter (1993, 115) claims that 'to be a citizen is not a simple matter of first as a child growing up to be a socially competent adult, and then simply walking out into the everyday world to take up one's rights and duties as a citizen'. By contrast, it is a status inherent to the human being and what the individual should develop is a sense of belonging to and an identity with a local and national community and, as has been argued in this study, global community.

Once agreed that youth are citizens, a second issue related to the status of being a citizen is their social and community participation. Hart (2009), points out that young people are perfectly capable of articulating how they wish to belong and participate. Lister et al. (2007) found out that youth are willing to talk about their responsibilities as citizens, which implies their participation in society; they 'place a high premium on constructive

social participation in the local community. Such participation represented for many of them the essence of good citizenship' (251).

A third aspect to be discussed is the misunderstanding of young people as passive individuals. Roberts (2009) argues that young people always play active roles in constructing their own adult lives. To think of youth as passive individuals is one of the reasons why their voice has largely been ignored and their opinion not been taken into account for public decisions. The understanding of them as 'citizens' once they turn 18 years of age has led to the notion that it is not important to include them in public consultation. However, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in its Article 12 (The United Nations, 1989) emphasises that:

State parties shall ensure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child.

In this study, a central focus is to hear students' voice, what their views, opinion, thoughts, and understandings are about the topics to be discussed. Young people have the right to be consulted, they a 'have a say', are actively involved within society and, as Lister et al. (2003) point out, young people take seriously the question of their relationship to the wider society. For them, being recognised, respected and listened are important factors in the development of a sense of belonging and engagement within their communities as equal citizens.

In summary, having presented different classifications and issues related to citizenship and reflecting on who is a citizen, the conclusion at this stage is that youth should be considered as citizens. Also, one should reflect that the ideal is that everyone knows that 's/he is' and 'be treated' as a citizen, and that has a significant role in the society. In this sense, the role that education plays in promoting citizenship in students is crucial. To reflect on this role, I initially introduce a section that presents characteristics of education for citizenship and CE and that allows narrowing the discussion to CE and its approaches. Secondly, I discuss the cosmopolitan dimension of CE as a key issue to be considered when addressing what the role schools play is in the understandings that students develop about citizenship.

### 3.3 Conceptualisations of citizenship education

Citizenship education is a concept that can be analysed from several perspectives. Kerr and Cleaver (2004, 18) suggest that ‘citizenship and citizenship education remain hotly contested concepts, and debates continue around the terminology of both’. When literature on this topic is reviewed, one of the first reflections leads to the question of why some authors use the term ‘education for citizenship’ and ‘citizenship education’ interchangeably, so the debate also arises in terms of differences of both ideas.

Regarding conceptualisations of education for citizenship, Bolivar (2004) states that it should begin with access to writing, language, and dialogue, continue with everything that constitutes cultural tradition and encourage in young people the learning and practice of shared contents and values. Education for citizenship should enable citizens to analyse, think and criticise social and political proposals and develop the ability to exchange and compare ideas. An inclusive school should actively promote this kind of learning.

David Kerr (2000, 210) develops his views of education for citizenship as it follows:

It involves equipping students with a set of tools (knowledge and understanding, skills and aptitudes, values and dispositions) which enable them to participate actively and sensibly in the roles and responsibilities they encounter in their adult lives. This strand links citizenship education with the whole education experience of students.

The definitions that are given by Bolivar and Kerr focus on the response citizens should learn to give to the responsibilities they have in society. Kerr specifically highlights the role students will play in society when they are of age. Students need to be equipped for the exercise of their citizenship in the future. For the purposes of this study, I consider that there is a difference between the terms being discussed. I understand the term ‘education for citizenship’ to be about a wider idea that explores what is done in educational terms to form active, responsible citizens, and that includes what occurs not only in schools but also beyond them. In other words, education for citizenship can be understood more broadly as all educational policy and practices in a given state aimed at developing citizenship in students. Such practices not only refer to a specific area but also involve the interplay that occurs beyond the classroom, that is, among students, the entire school, the family, the community, other institutions related to education topics but not from the formal education system, and the national context. I narrow the debate between

both concepts focusing on ‘citizenship education’, which I am taking as a practice developed within the school through particular curriculum subjects aimed at delivering knowledge about citizenship, and promoting the development of citizenship in students.

Although one can discuss differences between terms, there is a consensus on several issues. Firstly, Bellamy and Palumbo (2010) affirm that:

Types of citizenship proliferate continuously, from dual and transnational citizenship, to corporate citizenship, global citizenship and cosmopolitan citizenship. Whether the problem – be it a decline in voting, increased teenage pregnancies or climate change – someone has canvassed the revitalization of citizenship as part of the solution.

Thus, there is a renewed interest in CE because it is conceived as an integral project of schooling in democratic countries around the world (Reimers, 2007). The continuing theoretical and practical relevance of the CE is demonstrated in the proliferation of research and writing in the last twenty years (Tupper & Capello, 2012).

Secondly, several factors for this renewed interest can be mentioned: Deuchar (2004) suggests, civic disengagement, the need for knowledge and skills for a good management of the economy, the need for participative and democratic approaches. Cox et al. (2005) mention that the growing distance between young people and politics and the public sphere is cause of concern; thus, there have been a series of policies and educational responses. Hickey (2002) adds that a central focus of much research in CE has been on promoting strategies for increasing voter turnout amongst young adults and encouraging greater involvement in the political system. One example is England, a country in which the programmes of CE are based on a view of young people that assumes they are apathetic because they fail to understand the political basis of the state and they are ignorant of their responsibilities and their rights (Crick, 2002). In the case of Chile, as it has been mentioned, the government promoted a Citizenship Education Commission to analyse the lack of youth involvement in politics in 2003 (MINEDUC, 2004).

Thirdly, there is agreement that CE is potentially much broader than other areas of the curriculum. Kerr (1999a) points out that it includes the hidden curriculum, students’ social experiences and moral understandings, participation in community affairs and other extra-curricular activities. It involves the developing of knowledge, skills, attitudes, world-views, participation and engagement. Thus, citizenship education cannot be contained

within the school context, it permeates family and community, and it is influenced by the political culture in society.

In fourth place, as Cox (2006) states, CE has seen a general shift from an exclusive focus on knowledge about politics, laws, and nations towards a broader conception that also includes skills and attitudes as well as knowledge. This shift is considered in the context of the reform of the education system in Chile.

As mentioned before, there are important international studies that provide descriptions of educational contexts of different countries, i.e. the ICCS. Cox (2010) has worked on a comparison of curricula for the six Latin American countries (Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Mexico and Paraguay) participating in the ICCS 2009. His analysis shows that regarding aims of CE, Chile defines general goals and content for this learning area, whereas other countries in Latin America such as Mexico, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic and Paraguay, provide detailed syllabuses of what should be learned about civics and citizenship. Cox found that ‘institutions’ made up little of the curricular content and that neither common welfare nor social cohesion received a lot of attention. However, there was a shift towards emphasising interpersonal relations and attitudes toward others in the community as essential for peaceful coexistence in society. Chile gave more importance in its curriculum to ‘civics’ (regarding interpersonal or inter-group relationships) than to ‘citizenship’ (citizens’ relationship with state and government). When asked about the priority that is assigned to civics and CE in current educational policy and reform, Chile gives medium priority to this area of learning. According to reports from national centres or ministries, all six countries included extra-curricular activities, student participation, school ethos, culture and values, parent/community involvement, school governance, school–community links, and student and teacher participation in the community as contexts for civic and CE. In Chile, Colombia, and the Dominican Republic, every public and subsidised school must have a school board that represents the school community (teachers, parents, students).

One of the themes that are common in CE is that states have a central goal to help students participate in society as responsible citizens (MINEDUC, 2005). The contents of different courses or areas of education could guide students to achieve knowledge and develop certain skills such as decision-making, hypothesising, categorising and classifying information. These kinds of skills are needed to protect and maintain democratic life. As

Tupper & Cappello (2012) argue, a critique of this approach is that an underlying assumption that the ability of all individuals to participate equally and unproblematically in democratic processes is a given. While many curricula around the world focus on democratic life, it is a problem that issues of socio-cultural difference and questions of a group and national identity have been neglected. Another issue ignored is that individuals experience democratic life in different ways depending on their social locations or local contexts.

### **3.3.1 Approaches to citizenship education**

The reflection on different definitions and views of CE also should be made regarding specific approaches to developing this practice within schools. As it has been discussed in this chapter, some concepts are even contradictory of each other, thus definitions and opinions of what should constitute CE are wide, and a consensus is difficult to achieve.

There are at least three main approaches to CE: character/behaviour education that focuses on developing the citizen's character in the form of personal traits, values, and behaviours (Hoge, 2002). Pendlebury and Enslin (2007, 240) define character education as 'the broad term for any systematic attempt to shape particular kinds of people through education, and it involves, inescapably, the development of values'. This approach has been historically promoted mostly by conservative/neoliberal views in order to keep the 'statusquo'. The conservative ideology linked to this approach includes loyalty to a community, the need for religion and respect for authority, traditions and cultural heritage, amongst others (Swanchak & Campbell, 2008).

The second approach to be mentioned is the participatory/communitarian CE that aligns with social democratic citizenship. This perspective emphasises the promotion of democratic principles in the school and classroom (Flecknoe, 2002). Kerr (1999b) also points out that it promotes in students learning by doing, through active, participative experiences in the school or local community and beyond. It is in this process that, in the words of Flecknoe (2002), students are aware that one person's right is sustained by another's responsibility.

A third main approach is CE for social justice and human rights, which is considered to be aligned with a socialist/left social democratic politics. This type of CE aims to promote critical thinking among students to achieve a just and fair society (UNESCO, 2014).

As mentioned in preceding paragraphs, since there is no consensus on what should constitute citizenship, there is also no consensus on what CE should include. However, there seems to be more agreement on what an active and good ‘citizen’ should be and that it should promote a constant dialogue and spaces for discussion between students and citizens (Campbell, 2006). This situation describes the case in Chile; its curriculum shows an emphasis on the individual who is responsible for his/her future, making good decisions in the present and future, who knows how to live in society, negotiating with others and having projects in common. It seems that the Chilean curriculum aligns with a participatory approach, an issue that should be discussed. The aim of the Chilean Concertación Governments of improving the quality and equity in education has also implied promoting a better CE. One of the key issues was to identify the decisive influence that the market has had in the youth exercise of citizenship. During the dictatorship of Pinochet, the Chilean educational system followed a model of CE that aligned with a character/behaviour education; this approach emphasises individualism and competition between human beings and it is characterised by a lack of attention to what students themselves consider to be focal points in the learning process. This approach reproduces the notion that the individual is a ‘producer’ or a ‘consumer’ rather than a ‘citizen’. In other words, it follows a rationalist neoliberal logic in which the ‘market’ plays a crucial role, an emphasis that has been criticised in Chile (MINEDUC, 2005). However, some theorists validate this approach as they affirm that the market is a ‘school of virtue’. As Kymlicka (1997, 8) argues:

Many Thatcher/Reagan reforms of the 1980s aimed to extend the scope of markets in people’s lives – through free trade, deregulation, tax cuts, the weakening of trade unions, and reducing welfare benefits – in part in order to teach people the virtues of initiative and self-reliance.

It has been discussed the influence that the market ideology has had in the Chilean education system as the dictatorship of Pinochet was characterised or defined as a neoliberal regime. CE should be understood as a practice that emphasises cooperation rather than individualistic competitiveness and partnership between school, family and community rather than a teaching process in which the student is a mere recipient of what the teacher and the school decide. This view might help to overcome an approach that promotes the idea of ‘consumers’ rather than ‘citizens’. Participatory/communitarian CE and education for social justice and human rights are more appropriate approaches to form

citizens and not consumers. One reason is that these views of CE give importance to relationships between people, i.e. the classroom and the school community are spaces in which people interact with others. Along with this, CE should go beyond the establishment of particular contents in the curriculum, for example, definitions of human rights, what a constitution of a nation or country is or how the process of voting takes place. This knowledge does not necessarily ensure that students will be 'good citizens' because they need to experience those contents being learned.

Another crucial issue related to CE is the cosmopolitan orientation of citizenship. Banks (2004) points out that the work of scholars such as Castles, Ong and Sassen suggests that there is a need to rethink CE as a subject or set of topics that will prepare students to function within, as well as across, national borders and in the world, that is being transformed by worldwide migration, multiculturalism, and globalisation. As Osler and Starkey (2003, 246) comment, 'all human lives are increasingly influenced by events in other parts of the world and one of the most visible manifestations of this is that local communities have become more diverse'. This situation constitutes a cosmopolitan scenario.

In this context of cosmopolitanism, as Banks (2004) argues, CE should help students from diverse cultural, racial, ethnic language, and religious groups to critically understand and examine their cultural identifications and attachments. To acquire the attitudes, knowledge, and skills needed to function in cultural communities other than their own, within the national culture and community, as well as within the global community; and to understand the characteristics of democracy in a globalised world. In this new scenario, if democracy is conceptualised as cosmopolitan, then the actors within the democracy are, by extension, cosmopolitan citizens. Then, CE should be intended to train young people from different backgrounds to live together (Osler & Starkey, 2003) and to consider each other as cosmopolitan citizens. Demaine (2002) has proposed a global CE that must necessarily be concerned with economic, social and political inequalities between citizens both within and between nation states. This is the essence of good global youth work where the educational practice is no longer confined to the local, or even national context; it needs to address the global community.

Given the breadth of approaches to CE, I would argue that these concepts are being constructed depending on the context in which CE is being implemented. The question I



pose at this stage is whether characteristics of a behaviour to become a ‘good citizen as a consumer’ are still embedded within the Chilean curriculum and specifically in the notions, concepts, and content of CE or if this curriculum shows a shift towards including either a participatory/communitarian, social justice or cosmopolitan approach.

### **3.3.2 Citizenship education and the role of the school**

The aim of the training of citizens cannot be achieved by the creation of new school subjects. On the contrary, it is necessary to involve the whole school and establish links with the students’ families and the social context. This means that CE should motivate the active participation of students in the learning process (Pring, 2001; Campbell, 2006). This will help them to develop a sense of responsibility as citizens and the awareness that they are able to question the political and social system in their given countries. However, as Kymlicka (1997, 9) points out, ‘emphasising participation does not yet explain how to ensure that citizens participate responsibly’. A relevant curriculum for CE is needed along with regular links between students, classroom, school, families and community. Some authors such as Adeymo (2006), Denegri (2006), Cotton and Wikelund (1989), Goodall and Vordhaus (2011) have studied the relationship between families’ involvement in schools and students’ performances, arguing that this link should be boosted; therefore, the curriculum should take into account the role played by families in the development of students’ citizenship. And beyond that, regarding the link with the global community, some authors such as Osler and Starkey (2003) propose that CE should be re-thought as ‘education for cosmopolitan citizenship’.

One of the natural spaces for the exercise of citizenship (and cosmopolitan citizenship) is the school, which is favoured by everyday human interactions, the organisational management of the school, the activity in the classroom, student government activities and student community service, among others (Osterman, 2000; MINEDUC, 2013; Lin, 2015). The possibility of implementing the approach of active citizenship within the school will depend on the features that the school has, for example: what are the areas given to students and their families in decision-making related to specific issues within the school? What opportunities for participation are provided to students and their families? What links are promoted and established between the students, their families, the school community, and the community at large? The school also should give the opportunity for students to examine, to uncover, and to understand the community and

culture knowledge they bring to school, and to understand how it is alike and different from school knowledge and from the knowledge that other students bring to school. As Banks (2004) proposes, students should be helped to better understand their cultural knowledge; learn the consequences of embracing it; and understand how it relates to the mainstream academic and popular knowledge, and to the knowledge they need to survive and participate effectively in their cultural communities, the mainstream culture, and the global community.

### *3.3.2.1 Teachers' role in the delivery of citizenship education*

In the reflection on how the school shapes the way CE is delivered, thus, how it helps or hinders the development of citizenship, the teachers' role is crucial. As significant ones to students, teachers have the chance to help them in their journey to discover themselves as citizens. Torney-Purta, Richardson and Barber (2005) discuss how teachers' knowledge, beliefs, and sense of confidence influence students' civic knowledge. These authors analysed data from the IEA CIVED 1999 and 2000 across several countries such as Australia, England, Hungary, Norway and the United States, amongst others. They concluded that teachers' preparation, concerns about teaching and their professional development influence students' civic knowledge. How teachers approach policy on CE might also, impact students' understandings and practices of citizenship. In words of Ball, Maguire, Braun and Hoskins (2011, 625): 'actors within the school take up different positions in relation to policy, including positions of indifference or avoidance or irrelevance'.

The quote just mentioned relates to the contribution of Leighton (2014) to the reflection on the role of teachers of CE and their attitudes towards teaching. He proposes eight types of citizenship teachers and argues that regardless of their type, they require and deserve support, encouragement, and development.

**Commitment:** the decision to teach citizenship has been a conscious career choice based on their understanding of and commitment to the underlying principles of citizenship.

**Conversion:** some experienced teachers feel that the separate and explicit teaching of citizenship is crucial to the benefit of young people and the welfare of society.

**Convenience:** those who see this as a convenient route into teaching their degree subjects.

**Co-existence:** some teachers qualified in other subjects believe that there is a need for citizenship teaching. Not at the expense of their main subject but possibly complementary to other disciplines, as well as preparing young people for life after school in ways which some subjects were not equipped to address.

**Colonisation:** there are teachers who regard citizenship as a way of ensuring the continuance of their own subject which they perceive as otherwise under threat.

**Compliance:** some teachers are teaching citizenship due to a lack of an adequate number of classes timetabled in their own subject, thus, citizenship is seen by both the teacher and the school as a timetable filler.

**Conflict:** there is a direct opposition of CE due to dissatisfaction with the subject or an insecurity with subject knowledge and subject skills.

**Cynicism:** originally committed, some specialist teachers of citizenship are finding it difficult to maintain this commitment in the face of what they perceive as intransigence or unequal treatment or they are not sure they can make any difference to anyone.

On discussing citizenship teachers' role, types and attitudes, it is relevant to consider approaches to teaching. In this study, I specifically look at teachers of HGSC as it is the principal subject in which CE is embedded and, in words of Turney-Purta et al. (2005), the instruction of civics has always been more likely to be incorporated in history or social studies courses.

What history to teach to students is a topic that has been discussed in academia considering that the contents they learn not only influence the ways in which they understand past events, but also how present and future are constructed (VanSledright, 2003; Husbands, Kitson & Pendry, 2007). The decision-making of what history involves choosing the content, skills and values and these decisions can be made at a central-governmental level, and the local school level (Zúñiga et al., 2015). I focus this section on two basic positions from which history is taught. Husbands et al. (2003), Sylvester (1994) and Zúñiga et al. (2015) offer a summary of the main issues that characterise them. The first one is the 'great tradition' and the second the 'new history'.

The great tradition is orientated towards the prescription of contents, specified in detail through a sequence of programmes of study arranged chronologically. In this approach, teachers play a didactically active role consistent in transmitting historical facts to their students, interpreting the past and explaining it to their students for them to understand it, and ensuring the learning of them through short tests. Students role was passive, learning history as a received subject (Sylvester, 1994). The use of textbooks is crucial for this type of teaching history (Booth, 1996) and there have been discussions about whether this approach selects events to be taught that can justify the political organisation set by the dominant political class (Phillips, 1999; Taylor, 2000), this way, reproducing cultural, social, and political hegemony.

The ‘new history’ approach stresses the importance of preparing students for working life, promoting the development of higher order cognitive skills, and encouraging the development of citizenship attitudes and historical awareness. Teachers’ role should not be one of transmitting historical knowledge to the student but be managing and monitoring students’ learning activities. In this context, students’ participation in their learning should be very active in building historical knowledge through inquiry and interpretation of historical sources (Husbands et al., 2007).

Zúñiga et al. (2015) argue that history has moved from being only an academic discipline into a school subject. This transformation can influence both the learning process and students’ conceptions about history. Accordingly, each approach can have different objectives and teachers have to use different methodologies to implement one, or the other. In a comparative ethnographic study, Michelle Bellino (2015) explores contrasting approaches to civic education in two rural schools serving indigenous Maya youth in post-civil war Guatemala. She demonstrates the influence of teaching in how young people construct their civic pathways. As an example, on the subject of the ‘conflicto armado’ (armed conflict), most adolescent students lack extensive historical knowledge but, with the explicit guidance of their teacher, find relative consensus in its historical interpretation (187). The issue is that the teaching approach of one teacher who emphasises that historical analysis has to be objective guides students toward zero-accountability interpretation of the conflicto armado.

Objectives, content, and pedagogical tools vary depending on what approach is being used. However, there is consensus on a list of them that are required for the teaching of

history. Some objectives might be to foster cultural continuity, motivate active students' participation in society, transmit facts, concepts and generalisations for students interpret and understand the historical process; and to promote critical thinking, for which students need to develop cognitive skills such as analysis, interpretation, and evaluation. Contents are related to choosing what history to teach, which is a question for debate, as history as a school subject can be both empowering and oppressive at the same time (Taylor, 2000; Leighton, 2012). In terms of pedagogical tools, teachers can use a fact-based approach focused on the promotion of historical thinking (Taylor, 2000), with teacher-centred activities and memorisation and repetition as first teaching strategies. The second one is a skills-based approach, in which the greater visibility of students is the primary focus.

In a study conducted by Zúñiga et al. (2015) in Chile, they demonstrated that the historical background to the current secondary school history curriculum in Chile has been characterised largely by the adoption of the 'great tradition' approach. This is characterised by the use of teacher-centred practices and the chronological organisation of contents mostly around political events. In addition, the study has also demonstrated that the curriculum for secondary school history since its origins has been influenced by the needs and operations of the political system. Sometimes, it has focused on particular interpretations of events and their utility for the government in power. The 'new history' approach is being more relevant in the last decade, with a shift from teacher-centred activities towards student-centred learning and the development of the historical method of enquiry.

The 'new history' approach should be promoted along a pedagogical re-conceptualisation. One of these re-conceptualisations in Chile has to do with the influence of academics, researchers and teachers who align with a more critical pedagogy (Gazmuri, 2013). In this sense, the education orientated towards cultural transformation is the main goal. Critical pedagogy is related to students who are engaged in in the social construction of knowledge; they understand the deep meaning of contents learned, which includes the social, cultural and political context of the facts, and the ideologies and policies that influence those facts (Freire, 1970).

Giroux (2010) summarises some of the principles or views of critical pedagogy promoted by Paulo Freire. For Freire, education was about the making and changing of contexts for

education, which includes a spectrum of social sites and practices in society that are not limited to the school. Giroux compiles Freire's postulates as follows:

Pedagogy at its best is about neither training, teaching methods, nor political indoctrination... it is not a method or an a priori technique to be imposed on all students but a political and moral practice that provides the knowledge, skills, and social relations that enable students to explore the possibilities of what it means to be critical citizens while expanding and deepening their participation in the promise of a substantive democracy (Giroux, 2010, 716).

Critical thinking for Freire was not an object lesson in test-taking, but a tool for self-determination and civic engagement. According to Freire, critical thinking was not about the task of simply reproducing the past and understanding the present. To the contrary, it was about offering a way of thinking beyond the present, soaring beyond the immediate confines of one's experiences, entering into critical dialogue with history, and imagining a future that would not merely reproduce the present. For critical thinkers, two principles should prevail, from local to global, and the concrete to the abstract, it means, constructivist and student-centred. First the child and their interests and then start building concepts, to move it closer to this structure. In the classroom, the relationship is based on the interests of the child to the concepts.

The debate about what curriculum and approaches should be chosen is an educational matter rather than a political one, and actors from different disciplines should be invited to take part in the enactment of a new curriculum (Gazmuri, 2013).

### *3.3.2.2 Citizenship, gender and the role of the school*

In recent decades, there has been a discussion from a gender perspective about some issues of the concept of citizenship, specifically in relation to its 'universal' aspect, which means that all members of a community have equal rights. Criticism made by different social groups, especially the 'feminist', in the words of Meer and Sever (2004) has to do with the public/private divide that identifies men's role as being in the public world of politics, decision-making and paid employment, and women's in caring and child-rearing, lying in the family. That is, these concepts validated and transmitted within societies have led to gender inequality and has relegated the role of women to the private sphere. The idea of universal citizenship, with its assumption of equal rights for all, hides this reality

of inequality experienced by women as part of the premise that all human beings enjoy the opportunity and ability to exercise full citizenship.

Another idea implicit in universal citizenship means that we all have the same needs and interests. Feminists argue that these ideas leave out the particular needs of women and then the dominant group, in this case, men, can make their interests prevail as these are understood as universal interests (Philips, 1993, 16). One of the main concerns of feminists has been to find ways to take gender and other differences such as race and ethnicity, into account by expanding the rights of citizens based on their needs. As Lister (2003) points out, people can take advantage of the emancipatory potential of universal principles, such as equality, but also requires equity. Gender analysis in building concepts of citizenship can create a better understanding of the different activities, responsibilities, interests and priorities of men and women. This means that societies should provide opportunities for participation to marginalised groups, in this case, women, in defining their needs (Meer and Sever, 2004) and how to understand and exercise their citizenship.

One of the relevant institutions in offering opportunities for participation to different social groups is the educational system and particularly schools. In the words of Meer and Sever (2004) and Pring (2001), the education system is the institution that historically has replicated and promoted relations between citizens and the ways in which relationship between the citizenry and the state is built. To the extent that the study of gender education is marginalised from the current discussions of CE, those understandings of citizenship involving inequality between social groups will continue to be replicated. Regarding the role that schools can play in building relations between citizens, communities and the state and between citizens themselves, it is important to politically define the area in which schools can contribute to a form of democracy that offers women and men the same status, regardless of their social class, ethnicity or religion. Also, the discussion should consider the types of schools, their differences and what they have in common, that could support equal opportunities to the practice of citizenship.

### **3.4 Secular and faith-based schools**

The debate on what kind of schooling better contributes to a pluralistic, cosmopolitan and multicultural society is often polarised and antagonistic (Haydon, 1994; Ipgrave, 2012;

Byrne, 2014). There is agreement on the fact that education should allow all voices within a society to be heard. The question that arises is to what extent secular education responds to this demand. Responses will depend on the definitions of 'secular'. Haydon (1994) argues that to understand 'secular' means to refer to a decay of religious concepts and beliefs in society, a process that involves different grades of secularisation. Societies become more secular depending on the relative position of religious and non-religious thinking within the community, but it is not only a matter of quantitative measures of the presence of religious thoughts and groups in a particular context. One can also discuss whether a society is more secular than others by looking at the degree of decisions that are made more or less influenced by religious groups. In this sense, Byrne (2014) points out that governments should ensure that no particular religious and non-religious views are imposed on others.

In this context, the debate is also about whether a secular society gives space for religious discourses to be heard or whether these speeches are being constrained into private circles in which people can practice their religious beliefs. In the current global and multicultural context there are demands from different social groups and minorities to get active participation in society, basically to ensure the respect for their rights (Giroux, 2010). As Ipgrave (2012, 35) states:

The multi-faith and secular nature of society demand some kind of religious and secular settlement if all voices are to be heard and allowed to contribute to the public good—liberal democratic principles require no less.

Thus, the discussion is also about what 'secular education' means. Byrne (2014, 34-35) summarises its principles as follows: '(1) state control and accountability; (2) removal of clerical influence and religious doctrine; and (3) inclusive respect and equity for all religions and none'. In relation to which type of school, secular or faith-based, is more appropriate to achieve a goal of inclusion of all sectors in a society, one has to look at the differences between these two types of schools and not only to the curriculum itself, which is what several scholars have done (Haydon, 1994). This author points out that (Haydon, 1994, 71):

Any school is a society in miniature and since in any school there are decisions to be made, which affect all those engaged in the life of the school, about goals to be pursued and needs and claims to be



met, any school is also a polity in miniature. So, we can ask about a school how far it is secular as a society and as a polity.

Based on the above, responses to the question of what type/s of school/s are needed for a democratic, plural and cosmopolitan society, one first reflection is that all schools should have a distinctive philosophy that envisions them as a community committed to the full development of all students, in which the goal is to pursue a more convivial and human society (Bryk, Lee & Holland, 1993; Pring, 2001). Schools should provide educational opportunities for dialogue and exchanges with people from other traditions; that is a true mark of tolerant society (Vryhof, 2004, Giroux, 2010); and serve as training grounds for engagement of students in a plural society (Ipgrave, 2012).

In relation to faith-based schools, it is not recommendable to understand it on the basis of polarisation or dualism 'religious/secular'. As said before, the debate should include the reflection on what differentiates types of education and school, but also, what common characteristics they share.

Faith-based schools align with a certain religious group, supported by them, aiming at educating children from that religion, but in many cases, they are open to enrolling students who do not belong to their religious groups. In this study, I particularly looked at Catholic schools.

Catholic educational institutions have their foundation in the Catholic Church. Thus, they follow what the Canon Law establishes about definitions, goals and main characteristics. These schools are run by the competent ecclesiastical authority or public ecclesiastical juridical person or recognised ecclesiastical authority by a written document (The Code of Canon Law, 1983).

The Catholic Church accepts the Civil law; therefore, the Church and its schools are bound by that law (Meakin, 2012). The Civil law supports the right of parents to educate their children in accordance with their faith through the provision of state schools and the support of independent schools. As the Declaration on Christian Education, *Gravissimum Educationis* says, the function of a Catholic school is:

To create for the school community a special atmosphere animated by the new creatures they were made through baptism as they develop their personalities, and finally order the whole of human culture to the news of salvation so that the knowledge the students

gradually acquire of the world, life and man is illuminated by faith.  
(Vatican Council II, 1965, np.)

The concept of education that the Declaration above defines is one which should be inclusive as all men have the inalienable right to an education,

That is in keeping with their ultimate goal, their ability, their sex, and the culture and tradition of their country, and also in harmony with their fraternal association with other peoples in the fostering of true unity and peace on earth. (Vatican Council II, 1965, np.)

The same Declaration states that all Christians have the right to a Christian Education, which helps human beings to become more mature, conscious of the gifts given to them, aware of their vocation and responsible of contributing to the good for the whole society. In this sense, it is clear that the primary function of a Catholic school is to evangelise, and that education is a mean to that end (Meakin, 2012).

Research on faith-based schools have been carried out by different scholars in the last decades influenced many times by prejudice (Grace, 2003) and secular marginalisation, which means that religion has been ignored as unimportant in the academia. It seems that authors tend to polarise their opinions on the topic and, to consider that research on faith-based is only important for religious groups. Recent interest is arising to counteract the underdevelopment of this research.

One of the controversies that different studies show is about the educational attainment of Catholic schools. Researchers such as Coleman and Hoffer (1987) and Bryk et al. (1993) highlight positive effects of Catholic education such as social capital, strong internal sense of community, structured environments, sense of mission and vocational commitment of teachers. In one study conducted by Cibulka, O'Brien and Zewe (1982) in eight cities within the United States, it is demonstrated that students in Catholic schools in general performed at higher achievement levels than students in neighbouring public schools. These schools had enrolled non-Catholic students as well. Also, vocation and commitment were significant issues found in this study. The good attainment was manifest in both the education of disadvantaged and advantaged students. These results are consistent to what some studies carried out in Chile show. One of those studies of four Catholic educational institutions and other thirty-seven specific Catholic schools conducted by Martinic and Anaya (2007) demonstrated that it is possible to obtain good learning results in schools with students who live in conditions of extreme poverty or

social vulnerability. The main reasons for this success are that the educational plans analysed have an integral vision of education translated into interaction between management, teachers, and the assessment of students; the good internal organisational climate, which is possible thanks to the existence of directors who demonstrated leadership; and the strong relationship between the school and the family.

However, as Grace (2002, 156) cites, there are some authors such as Lauder, Hughes and Goldstein who think that 'the prior achievement and the cultural background of students entering Catholic secondary schools largely account for their successful academic outcomes'. Convey (1992) states that the type of students enrolling in Catholic schools might explain better educational achievements. It should not be ignored that these schools apply a process of selection of their students that may influence the attainment.

Another important issue to be discussed about Catholic education is the sense of social justice embedded in school practices and the need for a CE that responds to the challenges the Catholic Church faces. With regards to social justice, Catholic schools deliberately strive to inculcate an understanding for and a commitment to social justice in all their students (Grace, 2002). In the last century, the Catholic tradition has increasingly focused on thinking about the good of society and the role of citizens (Willems, Denessen, Hermans and Vermeer, 2010) in a context of globalisation, neoliberalism and social inequality that demands a response from Catholics. A transformation has occurred in terms of the ways in which the religious message is delivered and in the education process itself. Grace has argued that under the Catholic schooling principles of a liberal education are compatible with principles of a democratic and socially caring society. Grace has argued that under the Catholic schooling principles of a liberal education are compatible with principles of a democratic and socially caring society. Even when faith-based schools on one side emphasise individual rights, this does not hinder the countervailing influence that these schools have against the global hegemony of market materialism, individual competitiveness and commodity worship:

The role of faith-based schools could be crucial not only in the preservation of various forms of spiritual and moral values but also in struggles of solidarity and social justice internationally. (Grace, 2002, 158)

The role that CE might play to achieve Catholic education goals for social justice is fundamental. Faith-based schools should demonstrate that the spiritual, the moral and the

social are necessarily interconnected categories (Bryk et al., 1993). In words of Caldwell and Harris (2008, 15), these schools have acquired a spiritual capital, which he defines as ‘the strength of moral purpose and the degree of coherence among values, beliefs and attitudes about life and learning’. An important proportion of studies carried out regarding CE in faith-based schools show the close relationship between citizenship and moral education because being a good citizen can be seen as part of being a good person (Finchman, 2007; Steutel, 1997; Willems et al., 2010). Citizens should develop definite traits of character to enable them to enhance the quality of society, so-called civic virtues (Willems et al., 2010).

Ideas of being a good citizen are closely related to relationships a person establishes with others in the context of a community. As the Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church states, an individual may not be exclusively thought of as an individual whose character depends on nothing but her/himself because individuals are united by organic, harmonious and mutual relationships (Catholic Church Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, 2004). In this community, in which relationships are established the realisation of the common good is an expression of God’s higher plan. Willems et al. argue that the common good should be possible for people all over the world, which means that in Catholic social thinking people are world citizens rather than state citizens. In summary, CE is often linked to the moral, civics, community well-being and the development of a Christian character in faith-based schools.

The type of school in which CE is delivered has a close relation to the curriculum being implemented. Not only the school ethos would make a difference to how students are trained as citizens, but also how they experience the curriculum on CE.

### **3.5 The different types of curriculum: intended, implemented, experienced, hidden and for competences**

Definitions of the educational curriculum have been a matter of debate between authors since the term intends to comprise what should be taught in schools and what students should achieve in terms of knowledge and practice. Several issues influence the ways in which it is understood and defined such as the historical, cultural and political context of the country or nation (Hargreaves & Fullan, 1992). As Sizer (1999, 161) states, ‘no aspect

of schooling is more of a cultural battleground'. He also argues that it gives specificity to political positions, in other words, it is highly politicised (Cox, 2006), which means that at times the debate between policy makers, educational experts, teachers and politicians results in a curriculum enacted entirely by political considerations (Paechter, 1999).

The intended curriculum is constituted by a set of goals, specific purposes, and the immediate objectives to be achieved and it is the result of what policy-makers have decided (Atkin & Black, 2003; Hargreaves, 2011). UNESCO (2009, 58) defines it as follows:

The intended or specified curriculum is concentrated upon the aims and content of what is to be taught – that is, the curriculum which is planned and expressed through curriculum frameworks and other formal documents and which may have the authority of law.

The intended curriculum has to move from policy document to the implemented curriculum, also called 'official' or 'formal' curriculum, which consists of the courses, lessons, and learning activities students participate in, as well as the knowledge and skills educators intentionally, teach to students (Knapp, 2002; Abbott, 2014). Hartas (2003) states that it exists based on the textbook choices made by schools, mostly referring to facts. They also propose that the curriculum includes the social/cultural dimension, which is the knowledge that students are expected to acquire if they are to become literate and educated members of their communities. Also, there is a classroom curriculum, which consists of sets of explicit or implicit rules and social skills that students need to acquire in order to function properly.

The intended curriculum is commonly based on different ideologies that may vary depending on the particular context in which it is enacted. It usually includes levels of education, subjects to be taught, definitions, objectives in terms of knowledge, values, abilities, skills to be learned by students, contents, activities, pedagogical strategies, among others. Despite the controversies about its definitions, emphases, objectives and implementation, it can be argued that it helps to prioritise contents, the allocation of time within a school and the provision of a common language (Sizer, 1999). By contrast, the educational curriculum that has been enacted and intended is often criticised because of its lack of practicality and achievement. As Sizer (1999, 163) argues: 'what any one teacher actually teaches...and what an individual student hears, understands, and remembers are almost always two quite different things'.

In this sense, the experienced curriculum refers to the formal learning actually experienced by students (Hume & Coll, 2010). This is more concerned with the learners, what knowledge and perspectives they bring, their ability to learn and their interaction with the curriculum (Nuthall, 1997). Erickson and Pinnegar (2010, 361) defines it as:

The experienced curriculum refers to how the child responds to, engages with, or learns from the events, people, materials, and social or emotional environment of the classroom... it differs from other levels of curriculum... because it focuses on the students' actual learning and is not assessed by an objective or standardised test score.

The mentioned authors also point out that despite all preparations the teacher makes to adhere to curriculum mandates, the students have control over interpreting the inputs they receive. This has relation to the debate on the 'other' curriculum, that one that is not explicit and that is usually called 'hidden', helps to understand the gap between what is enacted, implemented and achieved. In words of Portelli (1993), the expression 'hidden curriculum' has become popular in the last decades but the concept or idea was first proposed by Waller in the early 1930s. Other authors such as Bennet and LeCompte (1990:188) recognise Friedenberga as the inventor of the term in the 1960s. There is not only disagreement on the specific origin and author/s of the expression but also in what specifically it intends to explain.

Traditionally, the definitions for the hidden curriculum are constructed in terms of its differences with the formal curriculum, which can be seen as a statement of intent (Paechter, 1999). The Glossary of Education Reform (Abbott, 2014) states that it refers to:

The unwritten, unofficial, and often unintended lessons, values, and perspectives that students learn in school. It consists of the unspoken or implicit academic, social, and cultural messages that are communicated to students while they are in school.

The definition by Apple (2004, 14) proposes that the hidden curriculum is the 'tacit teaching to students of norms, values and dispositions that goes on simply by their living in and coping with the institutional expectations and routines of schools'. Skelton (1997, 188) adds that these messages may be contradictory, non-linear and punctuational and each learner mediates the message in her/his own way.

From these definitions, the hidden curriculum is a set of unintended, or at least partially unintended, knowledge and practice that students learn and experience within the school. For Jackson (1968), it also refers to those unofficial expectations the educational administrators have of their students. These expectations are also aimed by teachers and to a lesser extent parents and other adults with interests in the school, and which are initially completely unknown to the students (Paechter, 1999).

Portelli (1993) points out that some authors use different expressions to define the hidden curriculum such as 'invisible', 'implicit', 'unwritten' and 'latent', among others. Paechter (1999) contributes to the discussion on the different issues related to the hidden curriculum arguing that there are at least two types of it. The intended one comprises those things that are not part of the formal curriculum, but which teachers actively and consciously pursue as learning goals for their students. Even when it may vary between schools, it is commonly present in the education system because it is determined by the values of the school actors and the structures of that particular educational institution. The unintended hidden curriculum is not consciously intended by teachers; it is a set of unintended messages which may suggest opposite knowledge and values to the intended.

The role the hidden curriculum plays in either the achievement or the failure of schools' goals is completely relevant. The main reason might be the contradictions between where the formal curriculum stands in terms of objectives, values and knowledge and the hidden institutional expectations. Paechter (1999) states that it may run counter to the intended overt curricula. One clarifying example given by Walkerdine (1990) is that while there is an intended hidden curriculum that values hard work from students and doing one's best, at the same time this is undermined by a set of unintended messages by teachers, which suggest that it would be better to succeed while not trying very hard at all. In terms of CE, the Chilean curriculum states that students will become full citizens once they turn 18 and, that they can be treated as full citizens in the present. However, the hidden curriculum might not be considering students as citizens because they are not of age, thus, constraining spaces for them to exercise their citizenship.

As a sum up, in words of Portelli (1993) the four major meanings of the hidden curriculum in curriculum discourse could be understood as: the unofficial expectations, or implicit but expected messages; unintended learning outcomes or messages; implicit messages arising from the structure of schooling; created by the students.

The last type of curriculum to be discussed in this section is the curriculum for competences. The Proposal 2013 is a document based on competences. It seems to be a tendency in most countries to focus curriculum goals regarding competences.

Pagès (2009) states that to teach HGSC and help students to develop disciplinary competences and civic and citizenship skills, there is a need to identify what characterises a curriculum for skills and what it is understood by competences. This author states that the notion of competence is justified on the changes in education paradigms and pedagogy from a behavioural to a cognitive, constructivist or socio-constructivist paradigm. This implies a more relevant learning, more cognitive activities and to bring students to the centre in their own learning. Also, it has a crucial influence on teachers' practices as new pedagogical tools are needed.

Competence is defined by the OECD (2005), as a combination of interrelated cognitive and practical skills, knowledge (including tacit knowledge), motivation, values, attitudes, emotions and other social and behavioural elements that can be mobilised together to act effectively.

As Pagès (2009) points out, students need to acquire the knowledge, skills and values by developing varied activities, for a fundamental purpose, which is the democratic formation of citizens. He questions whether the education curriculum contributes to the fulfilment of this purpose. One response is that it depends on how the curriculum is used; it can foster the development of skills or, conversely, stop it.

There are three fundamental types of skills students should develop: transversal, which are general skills for collection, analysis and critical evaluation of information; civics, which offer political knowledge and promote youth commitment and social and political participation; and disciplinary skills, which are those that integrate theoretical, procedural and attitudinal aspects (Pagès 2009).

Authors, such as Pagès and Torney-Purta and Vermeer (2004) make a more specific and focused proposal of what should be promoted in the development of citizenship competences. Pagès points out that it should be the development of civic socialisation, in basically six aspects: the complex social identities (structuring identity and self-knowing); building civic awareness with the help of history; consciousness of collective interests; communication in political and social discussion; cooperate in providing equality and



autonomy; understand the process of political decision-making; and the practice of democracy in school. Torney-Purta and Verneer focus the discussion on three strands of competencies: knowledge, skills and dispositions and motivations students should acquire as citizens. Regarding skills, I mention what Pring (2001) emphasises: to be a citizen entails rights and responsibilities. Such responsibilities are not readily accepted or exercised. They require certain dispositions or civic virtues, social and personal skills and a basic understanding of the social and political framework in which one lives and works. Such dispositions skills and understanding should be the aims of education and thus have a place in the curriculum.

### **3.6 Students' understandings of citizenship and citizenship education: theoretical and analytical framework**

The literature review of the Chilean educational context, citizenship and CE allows me to construct a theoretical framework to explore students' understandings of these topics.

The mentioned review has covered issues of the curriculum in its different forms or types such as the intended and implemented. In the case of Chile, the planned curriculum is enacted in a context of transition from dictatorship to democracy, social, cultural and political changes and students' demonstrations. In this regard, ideologies held by the groups participating in its design have a decisive, if not direct, impact on what is enacted. These ideologies are embedded in the objectives, contents and goals within the curriculum and its subjects, particularly HGSC. It is this document which is implemented in the school and classroom.

Students bring their own experiences into the school. Those experiences are shaped by their backgrounds, which I understand comprises several issues: the local community in which they relate to other on a daily basis; the identity they have built up which is continuously being shaped; the history and interactions in the family environment; the expectations the society has towards students as citizens; and their conceptualisations of citizenship, constructed not only upon what is delivered within the school but on their experiences as human beings.

Finally, as already discussed in the review of the literature, what is intended does not always align with what is implemented. In the constructions of their understandings, students are directly influenced by what occurs in the school. The type and ethos of the school, teachers' role, students' notions of CE constructed on what is learned in the school and the spaces for participation and practice of citizenship provided by the school, impact on their understandings.

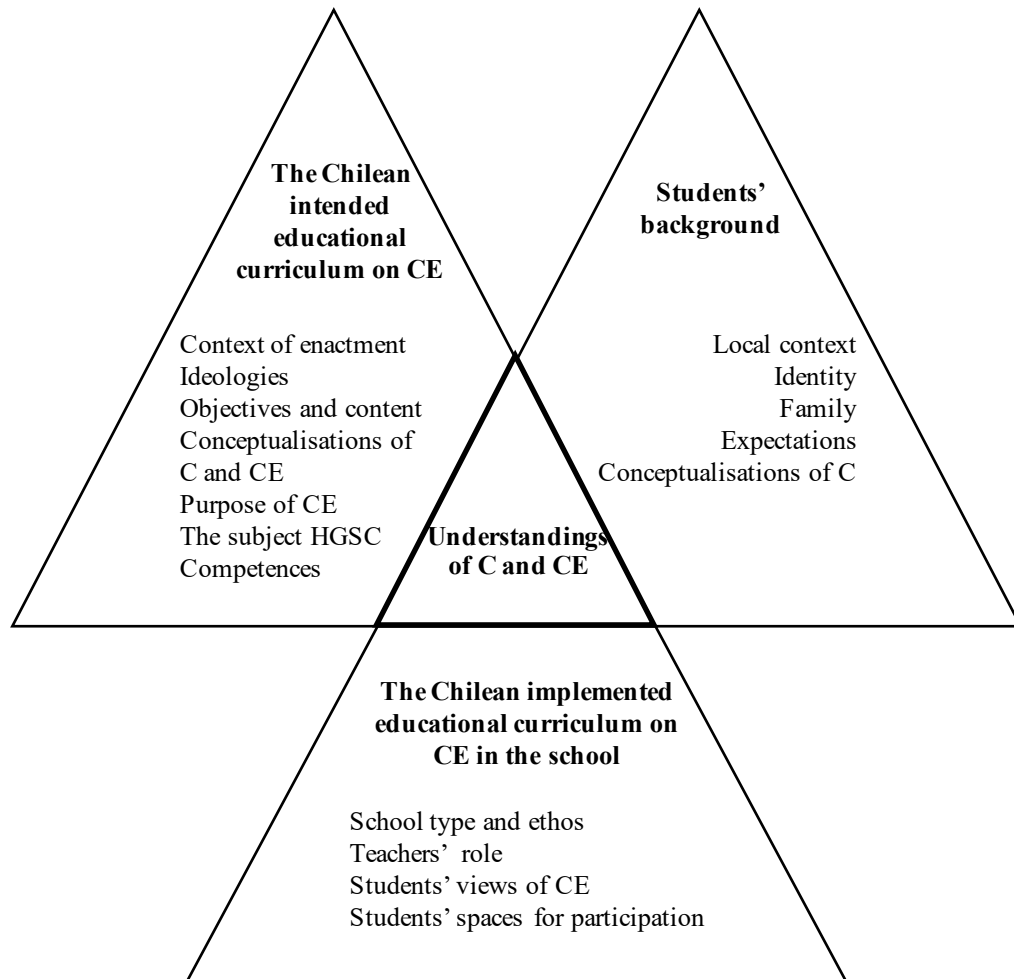
The intersection between the intended curriculum, background and the implemented curriculum guides me to analyse and reflect on students' understandings of citizenship and CE, first what they understand, how they construct their conceptualisations and what implications this has for CE policy in Chile. The Figure 3.1 shows the framework just explained.

### **3.7 Summary**

This chapter reviewed the relevant literature of citizenship and CE. It covered conceptualisations, classifications and approaches to citizenship and citizen, relevant perspectives to defining CE, the role the school plays in CE, secular and faith-based schools, and types of curriculum.

It was argued that citizenship is a contested concept and idea because of the multiple discourses and standpoints from which it has been analysed throughout history. From Aristotle in the Ancient Greece to the present day, reflection has been focused on different issues of citizenship, depending on the particular historical, geographical, cultural, social context in which the analysis has been developed. The 17<sup>th</sup> century liberalism proposed that all individuals have rights to life, liberty, and property. In words of Marshall and Bottomore (1992) citizenship is a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. Post-liberal citizenship includes ideas from socialism, republicanism, communitarianism, feminism and ecologism, amongst others. Rights and responsibilities are mutually supportive; from communitarian and civic republican positions being a full citizen necessarily entails active participation in the political community; this participation is given mainly by the right to vote.

**Figure 3.1 Students' understandings of citizenship and citizenship education:  
Theoretical and analytical framework**



Citizenship has also been defined in terms of the membership of individuals to a nation-state. This idea has been discussed over the years, since the delimitation of the concept to only this relationship citizen-state would leave out issues such as identity, belonging to a community and participation of individuals and groups in that community. Also, in the current scenario globalisation and multiculturalism are testing the capacity of nation-states to coordinate and define citizenship. In a (neoliberal) globalised context, citizenship is often related to human capital ideas, i.e. citizens help to build a knowledge-based economy in which economic development and human wellbeing are crucial. It is in this context that the cosmopolitan orientation of citizenship is valuable to overcome some of the limitations of an understanding of citizenship only as a political affiliation. The

cosmopolitan orientation states that all individuals are equal because they are human beings, rather than per any status as members of a political community. What identifies a citizen is her/his inherent condition as a human being who participates in social life in one or another way and has a cultural identity, which extent is to groups as well.

Education plays a crucial role in the development of citizenship. Some conceptualisations stand that CE implies educating children to become clear-thinking and enlightened citizens who participate in decisions concerning society (UNESCO, 2010). Besides, to equip students with a set of tools (knowledge and understanding, skills and attitudes, values and dispositions) which enable them to participate actively in the roles and responsibilities of their adult lives (Kerr, 1999b). In my study, I understand the CE as what the school does through particular curriculum subjects and activities aimed at delivering knowledge about citizenship and promoting the development and exercise of citizenship in students.

One of the natural spaces for participation and the exercise of citizenship is the school; the links created between students, their families, teachers, classmates and staff and the local community are crucial in the development of citizenship. There is a debate on what kind of schooling (public/private, secular/faith-based) better contributes to pluralistic, cosmopolitan, multicultural and democratic societies. One response is that all schools should have a unique philosophy that envisions them as a community committed to the full development of all students. The debate should be around what differentiates types of education and school and, what their common characteristics are.

As in this study the subject HGSC is a key point for the reflection of students' understandings about citizenship and CE, I reviewed literature on basic angles from which history is taught. Zúñiga et al. (2015) offer a summary: one is the 'great tradition' and the second the 'new history'. In Chile, the one predominant paradigm has been the great tradition, which addresses the prescription, sequences and chronology of contents. On the other hand, the new history approach stresses the development of citizenship attitudes and historical awareness.

Regarding conceptualisations of the education curriculum, five types were chosen for this study. The intended curriculum is constituted by a set of goals, specific purposes, and the immediate objectives to be achieved and it is the result of what policy-makers have

decided (Atkin & Black, 2003; Hargreaves, 1992). The implemented one consists of the courses, lessons, and learning activities students participate in, as well as the knowledge and skills educators intentionally, teach to students (Abbott 2014). The experienced curriculum refers to the formal learning actually experienced by students and how the student responds to the classroom environment (Erickson & Pinnegar, 2010). The hidden curriculum is the unwritten, unofficial, and often unintended lessons, values, and perspectives that students learn in school (Abbott, 2014). Finally, the curriculum for competences is focused on a more relevant learning, cognitive and practical skills justified on the changes in education paradigms and pedagogy from a behavioural to a cognitive, constructivist or socio-constructivist paradigm. This implies the development of knowledge, skills and attitudes.

The literature reviewed allows me to design a theoretical and analytical framework to approach me to students' understandings of citizenship and CE. The next chapter of this study covers the research design and methodology.

## **Chapter 4. Research and methodology**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents a discussion of the research design and methodology used in this study.

The second and third sections of this chapter consider the reasons to choose a qualitative methodological orientation and an interpretive approach. The fourth and fifth sections explain the reasons to choose case studies as a research method and how the cases were selected. Following this, I discuss my positionality as a researcher and the methodological implications in researching youth.

The fieldwork section explains the several stages or phases developed, which includes: document review, granting permission, sample selection, informed consent and anonymity, classroom and schools observations, a focus group with students and semi-structured interviews.

The data analysis section provides a revision of the process of analysing documents and individual and focus group interviews. It describes how themes emerged and were determined.

I also discuss some of the limitations I had to face, and finally, I present a summary of this chapter.

### **4.2 Qualitative methodological approach**

The focus of this study is to explore students' understandings of citizenship and CE, deepening into how citizenship and CE are enacted in selected faith-based and secular schooling in Chile. For this reason, it is pertinent to use a qualitative research approach. The characteristics of qualitative research informed the decision to adopt it in my study, as it seeks to achieve an understanding of the phenomenon in question, starting with a comprehensive framework built by the subjects involved (students, teachers, leaders of the parent and guardian associations).

Qualitative research is defined as ‘an enquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem’ (Creswell, 1998, 5). Wood (2006) points out that most qualitative approaches have a focus on natural settings; an interest in meanings, perspectives and understandings; an emphasis on process and concern with inductive analysis and grounded theory. The qualitative research approach allows me to explore students’ understandings of citizenship and CE by talking to them in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret those phenomena with regard to the meanings students bring to them (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).

My interest is in understanding the meanings students have constructed about citizenship and CE; how they make sense of these phenomena and the experiences they have of it. My study, being qualitative, is descriptive; this means that I am looking at describing the context in which citizenship is taught and experienced by students, the participants involved and the activities within the school and the community related to the practice of citizenship.

### **4.3 Interpretive approach**

Before explaining the reasons for choosing an interpretive approach, it is pertinent to refer briefly to epistemology and ontology.

Epistemology refers to conceptions of reality, what one believes about the nature of reality (Merriam, 2009) and ontology to the value placed on what constitutes knowledge. The methodology is chosen depending on what the researcher thinks is more appropriate to their ontology and epistemology (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).

When addressing questions about ontology and epistemology the researcher reflects on paradigms on which s/he is positioned. A paradigm can be understood as a ‘set of basic beliefs that deal with ultimate or first principles. It represents a worldview that defines, for its holder, the nature of the ‘world’, the individual’s place in it, and the range of possible relationships between that world and its parts’ (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, 107).

The history of social science shows two main paradigms: the positivist and interpretivist. The first stems from the social science theories of the great thinkers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries such as August Comte and Emile Durkheim (Guba & Lincoln,

2005). According to the positivist theoretical perspective, reality exists 'out there' and it is observable, stable and measurable (Merriam, 2009) and social scientists must consider the facts or causes of social phenomena independently of the subjective states of individuals, with social phenomena seen as 'things' which have an external influence on people (Durkheim, 1938). That is, positivist research only uses the method of experimental science to explain all dimensions of human behaviour without taking into account the personal views of the actors and without considering that, besides the exercise of one's freedom, social traditions within people's lives are embedded and have an intrinsic impact on the way they act and are not simply experimental conditions of actions that are describable.

Post-positivist paradigms such as interpretivism and critical theory, among others, have emerged to explain reality and social phenomena; this is because the 'objective researcher of positivism' is impossible in post-positivism as there are only interpretations we can make of reality.

Orlikowski and Baroudi (1991) state that 'interpretive studies assume that people create and associate their own subjective and inter-subjective meanings as they interact with the world around them. Interpretive researchers thus attempt to understand phenomena through accessing the meanings participants assign to them'. In this sense, Cohen, Lawrence, Morrison and Wyse (2010) say that the researcher should make an effort to get inside the person and to understand from within to retain the integrity of the phenomena being investigated. This is because, in the words of Orlikowski and Baroudi (1991), social process is not captured in hypothetical deductions, covariances and degrees of freedom.

In contrast to the assumptions of positivism, 'interpretive methods of research start from the position that our knowledge of reality, including the domain of human action, is a social construction by human actors and that this applies equally to researchers. Thus, there is no objective reality that can be discovered by researchers and replicated by others (Walsham, 1993, 5). Furthermore, 'reality is understood to be socially situated and the investigator and the participant to be engaged in a mutual process of constituting knowledge' (Jacobson, Gewurtz & Haydon, 2007, 2).

The main reason for my research being interpretive is that it intends to place the understandings of students at the centre of the study. The interpretive approach provides



methods for developing an understanding of different phenomena, in this case, understandings of citizenship, and takes account of the diversity that exists among students in their local and familiar contexts. It means that it avoids simplistic representations of understandings of the relationship between different actors and the phenomena being studied (education system, students, families). At the same time, the approach's interpretive method allows for comparison and contrast between the students' concepts and experiences, rather than ignoring the students' presuppositions.

One of the strengths of this approach lies in its flexibility. This is because the research process is one of continuous review and feedback, an iterative interplay among research questions, data collection, and analysis (Jacobson et al., 2007, 1). Jackson (2009, 81) expresses: 'you do not feel that you have to know everything because every example studied illuminates the wider picture. The approach is very flexible'. This focus on the individual, while a strength of interpretivism is also a weakness as it can neglect the external or structural forces that shape actions and events (Cohen et.al, 2010).

#### **4.4 Researcher's positionality**

One of the characteristics of qualitative inquiry is that the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis. As a human being, a researcher:

...is able to be immediately responsive and adaptive; (s/he) can expand his or her understanding through nonverbal as well as verbal communication, process information immediately, clarify and summarise material, check with respondents for accuracy of interpretation, and explore unusual or unanticipated responses. (Merriam, 2009, 15)

A researcher as the primary instrument for data collection and analysis has disadvantages, mainly because of the subjectivities or biases of human nature. It is crucial to consider this matter when collecting and interpreting the data because those subjectivities shape these processes. As Tracy (2010, 841) points out, 'research has to be marked by honesty and transparency about the researcher's biases, goals, and foibles as well as about how these played a role in the methods, joys, and mistakes of the research'.

One of the key issues for identifying how a researcher's biases influence data collection and analysis is her/his identity in relation to the study being conducted. This means that

one of the decisions the researcher has to make is whether s/he considers her/himself an outsider or an insider. An outsider does not belong to the group being studied whereas an insider is part of the group (Bryman, 2004). It also means that a researcher has to be aware of her/his life story or background that could influence or shape their study (Tracy, 2010).

As I already explained in the introduction to this study, my experience as a social worker in Chile prompted my interest in looking at secondary school students' understandings of citizenship and CE. Also, my interest in secondary schools was motivated by student movements since April 2011. Even when my experience as a social worker has been crucial for my research choices, I consider that it is my life story that has motivated me more to study topics related to citizenship and students. I was raised in Argentina and moved back to Chile during my adolescence, so my experience allows me to compare two quite different education systems and to reflect on how these systems, and specifically how schools, can shape, define, help or hinder the development of understandings and practices of citizenship. As a student in a secondary school in Argentina, I had more opportunities to interact with my classmates in each class, to learn by doing in different contexts within the community and develop a more parallel relationship with my teachers. On the other hand, even when the school gave more opportunities for students to express their opinions, to propose different activities to be developed in the different classes and participate in them freely, I had to overcome discrimination for being an 'immigrant', a situation that put me in a disadvantaged position to my classmates. In Chile, I experienced what it is to be a student in a school under a rigid educational system; a consequence, I might argue, of the neoliberal and authoritarian dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet. With respect to practising citizenship within the context of my Chilean school, I cannot identify any meaningful opportunities for that beyond those developed during celebrations of the school's anniversary.

As previously mentioned, my life story influenced my research decisions but also, I had to be aware of its effect on the way I collect and analyse data. Thus, I had to decide whether I am an insider or an outsider in conducting my study. Although my first approach was to consider myself an outsider as I am neither a member of the schools nor a teacher, and have never worked in the schools being studied, I also thought I am an insider to some degree. This means that the fact I am Chilean, studied in southern Chile and know the context of the city in which the study was conducted, allow me to perceive myself as someone who can connect with students and their life experiences. I could not,

then, choose one or another positionality but both, i.e. I am an outsider and an insider in conducting my research. In adopting this approach, I had to keep in mind what Tracy calls relational ethics that involve an ethical self-consciousness in which researchers are mindful of their character, actions, and consequences on others. As someone who could connect with the researched, I prioritised mutual respect and dignity (Ellis, 2007).

Another issue to take into account is that being and identifying myself as a social worker could have been a risk. The role played by a social worker in Chile is related to the ability to solve social problems; thus, it is someone who holds power to make certain situations change. Introducing myself as a social worker would have raised participants' expectations of me pursuing the improvement of families' situations and schools and being a mediator between the school community and local authorities. In consequence, an unequal relationship of power would have been established between me and the participants in the study (Cieslik, 2003). To avoid this issue, I made it clear I was a researcher and decided to not mention my professional background as the key feature of my identity. I shared I had the opportunity of studying social work at the university and that my professional and academic experience allowed me to study abroad.

Finally, being a thirty-seven years old woman presented advantages and disadvantages. On one side, it created a sense of 'respect' from the students towards a woman or 'miss', who is a more mature age but younger than most teachers at school. My concern was that students would not feel comfortable in our interactions during the fieldwork, but the fact that I was a student seemed to facilitate the communication between the researcher and participants. On the other side, I had to face the fact that Chile is one of the most unequal countries in terms of gender issues and work opportunities for women. Thus, being a woman relatively younger than heads teachers, challenged me to be always very clear regarding the purpose of my research and how to conduct the fieldwork.

#### **4.5 Case study as a research method**

There is a broad range of definitions of a case study. Ragin and Becker (1992) propose a conceptual map to define case studies. This map includes classifications like 'specific' to those that emerge from the research being developed or 'general' which means the case exists prior to the research. An 'empirical unit' refers to those cases that are 'out there';

‘theoretical construct’ to those constructed from theory; ‘intrinsic’ means the case is studied because there is a need to do it; and ‘instrumental’ means those whose purpose is to explain other cases.

A case study is a strategy for doing social science research (Yin, 2009, 2), which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence (Robson, 2002). Cohen et al. (2010, 253) state that the case study ‘provides a unique example of real people in real situations, enabling readers to understand ideas more clearly than simply by presenting them with abstract theories or principles’. It offers a depth of analysis.

In general, case studies are the preferred method when ‘how’ or ‘why’ questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context (Yin, 2009). Flyvbjerg (2006) states that there is prejudice and misunderstanding of case studies, for example, the belief that it is not possible to generalise findings from case studies. In this sense, some authors such as Ritchie and Lewis (2003) offer a response to these critics regarding the generalisation that it is possible to make from case studies. One type of generalisation is called ‘empirical or inferential’ and refers to the application of findings from specific cases to populations or settings beyond the particular sample of the study. The second type is called ‘theoretical’, which means that it is possible to generate theoretical concepts or positions from the case studies with wider or universal applications. Mary Kennedy (1979) states that the number of case studies is not important for generalisation but the range of attributes that a case has and the range of conditions under which observations occur in that case. Thus, it is not an increase in the number of cases being studied that ensures better generalisation but the increased range of attributes of those cases.

I am interested in looking at what is taught, how it is taught and what the effects of CE are, i.e. how citizenship and CE are enacted in selected faith-based and secular schooling in Chile. As this study intends to consider the understandings students have developed, the case study is an appropriate strategy to analyse in detail, from the personal experiences of students, how they perceive, define, and understand the phenomena studied in their own contexts. I propose to study two cases (schools) in detail. As I have no control over how CE is enacted in the Chilean curriculum, nor over how it is taught in the classroom, this is another reason to choose case studies as my research strategy.

#### 4.6 Challenges in researching youth

As discussed in the literature review, youth cannot be seen as a homogeneous group; nor should be researched following fixed categories. Researchers face challenges in investigating youth, such are different from those previous generations had to deal with. Some of those challenges are the extension of the youth phase, in part as changing labour markets, welfare policies and attitudes towards personal relationships which has implied the delaying on family formation (Cieslik, 2003). Roberts (2009) mentions the ‘disorderliness of present-day youth transitions; as a contemporary issue for researchers:

...young people’s lives do not always move forward in an uncomplicated way straight from full-time education into stable full-time occupational careers, and from singleton status to coupledness to marriage, for example. There is considerable back-tracking back to the parental home following higher education, back to unemployment following training schemes, back to education following experiences in the labour market (265)

In today’s globalised world, the influence of media, greater geographical mobility, world immigration, inequalities, rapid social transformations, labour markets and family patterns, amongst others, have to be considered in research with youth (Giddens, 1996; Cieslik, 2003, Roberts, 2009).

Following Roberts (2007, 2009), I agree that youths life stages are transitional by character. A transition paradigm allows researchers to scan developments in young people’s lives identifying different points of childhood origin such as terms of families, education, place of residence, ethnicity, religion, amongst others. From childhood, researchers can explore routes into adulthood. The transition paradigm is about education and work, family and housing transitions, young people’s transitions into adult consumer roles, and as citizens (2007, 263).

In adopting a transition paradigm to conduct my research, I agree that youth transitions are socially constructed. This has theoretical and methodological implications like considering the social context of the students participating in the study. I kept in mind that the Chilean education system, labour market, family patterns and characteristics, school ethos, and the local community, had to be taken into analytical consideration. Roberts (2009) explores and compares youth transitions in Eastern Europe and the West. He argues that the collapse of the Soviet communist regime in the 80s is a turning point

in the conditions of the youth, altered in response to economic, political and social changes. In exploring students' understanding of citizenship and CE, I take the dictatorship of Pinochet and his neoliberal educational reforms as a turning point that shaped previous generations' identity and experiences of citizenship. Families, teachers and members of the community might influence students' understandings of citizenship, patterns of association and cultural identities. The way students construct their beliefs and experience citizenship, bring the influence of previous generations.

In the reflection of the context and its influence on the way students shape the development of citizenship and their identities as well, many authors have contributed to this debate. In the comparative ethnographic study by Bellino (2015) in two rural schools serving indigenous Maya youth in post-civil war Guatemala, she studied how school culture, curriculum, and teacher pedagogy critically shape youth civic development processes, often reproducing existing divisions between students from different social locations and identity groups (544). How schools address issues such as peace, social justice, injustice, conflict and struggle, shape the ways young people in these communities resolve the risks of civic participation, ways that are different from each other despite their shared identity (555). In my study, I have been aware of the influence of schools in how students' understand citizenship and CE, understandings that might differ although they share a similar identity as young people from a small local community in southern Chile.

A third issue to take into account in researching with youth is researchers' power. Regardless the specific background of youth being investigated, they lack the resources, social networks and knowledgeability of those conducting research; thus, there is an unequal power relationship between the researched and the researcher (Cieslik, 2003). This implies moral and ethical issues; the researcher has to 'engage in reciprocity with participants and do not co-opt others just to get a 'great story' (Tracy, 2010, 847). A researcher recognises and listens to the young participants' voice, what they have to say, which in the words of Hart (2009) is an important part of an inclusive society. The researcher and participants have to constantly negotiate because researchers rely on participants good will to provide data for the investigation and young people deserve to be respected in their own interests (Cieslik, 2003).

In summary, researching youth and citizenship implied to consider several approaches to citizenship simultaneously to make sense of students' understandings. The role of the researcher has real consequences for the young people themselves (Cieslik, 2003). I understand citizenship as a lived experience, and this has to be understood in 'fluid terms, cutting across fixed theoretical categories. Such findings pose a challenge for both the theorisation and politics of citizenship. ' (Lister et al., 2003, 251)

Methodological challenges in qualitative research with youth pose the question of what makes qualitative research good. Tracy (2010) argues that despite the gains of qualitative research in the late 20th century, a methodological conservatism has crept upon social science over the last ten years. Also, the influence of the historical discussion between positivist and post-positivist approaches on the existence of 'objectivity' might influence or hinder the way qualitative researchers conduct their investigations. The goal is to overcome the barriers of the validity and reliability (based on this objectivity). Following Tracy (2010), there is criteria qualitative researchers should work on, develop and guide research. Criteria are useful; guidelines help us learn, practice, and perfect and provide a path to expertise (838). I summarise some of the principles that help this qualitative study 'good':

*Worthy topic:* often emerge from disciplinary priorities and, therefore, are theoretically or conceptually compelling (840). Citizenship is a relevant topic nowadays, both in Chile and internationally speaking. Education policy in citizenship is being designed and implemented in Chile, influencing the lives of many young people (it is significant). Findings from this study are relevant in this generation and the future as well. It is an interesting topic itself and also because it is investigated from students' points of view.

*Rich rigour:* high-quality qualitative research is marked by a rich complexity of abundance, in contrast to quantitative research that is more likely appreciated for its precision (841). I apply the principle of requisite variety which means I consider several theories as a ground for my research and a case of abundant data to support my claims. I spent over four months visiting the schools participating in my study, at least once a week. The context was appropriate as one of my goals was to include in my case studies students from different types of schools in a small city far from the capital. Rich rigour is also seen in the appropriate procedures in field note style, interviewing practices, and analysis

procedures. I continuously reflected on the amount of data I was collecting to know when to stop that stage.

*Sincerity*: means that the research is marked by honesty and transparency about the researcher's biases, goals, and foibles as well as about how these played a role in the methods, joys, and mistakes of the research (841). I constantly self-reflected on the processes, like negotiations, approaching students and other participants in the study, my influence over their reactions. One example is that my fieldnotes show my own feelings after each visit to schools and after interviewing students, particularly while I was reflecting on the differences between both groups. Also, as already explained, I was always aware of my role as a researcher and social worker. In terms of transparency, I acknowledge throughout the process the students, teachers and parents for their goodwill; and my supervisor at that time who was willing to respond to my enquiries when I was in the fieldwork.

*Credibility*: Refers to the trustworthiness, verisimilitude, and plausibility of the research findings (842). In this sense, I used a thick description of behaviours while interviewing, of schools on each visit, of lessons delivered in classrooms, amongst others. I sought to write in a detailed way the different stages in conducting this research. I used triangulation, which in qualitative research assumes that if two or more sources of data, theoretical frameworks, types of data collected, or researchers converge on the same conclusion, then the conclusion is more credible (843). Triangulation means that the experience of the researcher and the participant is mutually constructed. At the methodological level, more than one tool was used when collecting data (focus groups, interviews and observation); at the sampling level, female and male students, teachers, head teachers and parents from different socio-economic statuses and schools were interviewed to achieve a wide variety of data; at the theoretical level, triangulation was employed using different approaches to citizenship and CE.

Other principles I considered in conducting this research were to respect and dialogue with participants' reflections throughout the whole process. Also, I advocate for resonance, which means that I intend to influence, affect or move particular readers or a variety of audiences. I expect my study to be valuable in a variety of contexts and that policy and practice could be influenced by this research. I do not intend the findings to be



generalised as qualitative research does not rely on generalisation but transferability (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

## **4.7 The fieldwork**

I developed the fieldwork from May to September 2013. This process consisted of seven stages or phases, which are explained below in two subsections: the sample and research techniques and tools.

### **4.7.1 Sample**

Cases are selected for theoretical purposes using an information-orientated selection strategy in order to gain a deep understanding of the studied phenomenon (Flyvbjerg, 2006). To choose the cases I followed a process of sampling, which consists of selecting units from a population under study, such as people or institutions, among others. The aim is that by studying these units it is possible to inform the whole picture (Bryman, 2004); also, the results could be compared with other cases of similar characteristics in other contexts.

The type of research determines the sampling; it can be probabilistic or non-probabilistic. According to the aims of this study, sampling was a purposive non-probabilistic one because there is a purpose in mind (Fossey, Harvey, McDermott & Davidson, 2002) which is to describe how citizenship and CE are enacted in selected schooling in Chile. In purposive sampling, the selection of participants, settings or other sampling units are chosen because they have particular features that enable detailed exploration and understanding of the central themes I, as a researcher, want to study (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003).

The secondary schools to be studied were chosen from a city in the south of Chile. The city is in Osorno Province, Los Lagos Region, more than 900 km south of the capital Santiago. It has about 25,000 inhabitants and several primary and secondary schools. As with other cities in southern Chile, especially those considered 'small' by number of inhabitants, it has a strong identity as a town. The main industry is agriculture and livestock and it has a number of associations and formal and informal groups such as churches, sport clubs and music bands, among others. I have chosen this particular city to

look at the understandings of citizenship and CE of secondary school students for the reasons that this town has an identity as a community, has three secondary schools, one public, one subsidised and another private. Furthermore, there is the possibility of parental choice over educational enrolment, i.e. families can opt to enrol their children either in a public school or a private one. There are also other families who can only enrol their children in the public school. Finally, another important reason is that this town was actively involved in the student mobilisations of both 2006 and 2011, an issue that could be interesting to take into account in the context of active citizenship.

The study is delimited to public (municipalised) and private (subsidised) secondary schools. The main reasons are that the Chilean curriculum aims to prepare young people to exercise active citizenship when graduating from school, becoming responsible for their rights and duties; hence, this study looks at deepening understandings of students who will graduate in the near future. Another reason is that secondary schools are required to follow the national curriculum that guides the education process; MINEDUC enacts PP to order the specific contents to be taught to achieve the objectives of the curriculum. Schools are allowed to use these PP being proposed or to design their own plans. Thus, I was interested in finding out whether the type of school (faith-based or secular) influences the decisions of schools in designing their plans. The third reason is that there is evidence of great differences between municipalised and private schools in terms of educational performance. Finally, there is a lack of studies in Chile aiming to explore the understandings of students in the last grade of secondary school.

Given this context, two secondary schools were selected, following these characteristics:

- One secular school PSS (public municipalised) in Los Lagos Region.
- One faith-based school PFBS (private subsidised) in Los Lagos Region.

The case study consists of interviewing ten female students and ten male students of PFBS and PSS. It is important to balance the number of female and male students because my study seeks to analyse the research questions in relation to gender as a key dimension. This research looks at how students aged 17 understand citizenship and CE. Even though these students could also be considered ‘youths’ or ‘young people’, in this study I use the term ‘students’ because I am exploring understandings of citizenship and CE among individuals who are enrolled in secondary schools.

Heads teachers, HGSC subject teachers, grade 12 teachers and four leaders (adult people, i.e. president, vice-president, secretary, vice-secretary, bursar and vice-bursar) from the parent and guardian associations were also interviewed.

This study seeks that both genders are represented when selecting the ten students from each school for the development of the case study. Students in grade 12 have been selected because they should have received a high percentage of the citizenship contents included in the secondary school curriculum and because they are expected to have achieved knowledge, skills and awareness of being ‘citizens’. As it has been said, Chilean CE aims to prepare students to become responsible citizens when they graduate from school.

Another important issue I kept in mind for the selection of schools and then in the analysis of data, was that PSS students belong to a middle-low socio-economic status while PFBS students to a middle-high one. Information provided by head teachers in preliminary meetings to organise my fieldwork.

After obtaining permission from heads teachers to conduct the study and after informing HGSC teachers about my research, I obtained permission to access the lists of grade 12 students. I chose numbers at random and wrote down the name of the student that corresponded to that number. I interviewed each of them to provide information about the study and to explain how I would ensure confidentiality and anonymity. Three students from the PFBS and four from the secular one did not agree to participate in the study. Participants who did agree to participate were given numeric codes that related to their specific secondary school (faith-based or secular). Pseudonyms were adopted for the two schools and their locations were only to be referred to in generic terms, e.g. north of the city, central zone. Also, I decided to anonymise the city in which I conducted my research, as there are only a few secondary schools there, and it would be easy to identify schools and students involved in the research.

My sample was composed as follows:

**Table 4.1 Research sample**

	<b>SECULAR SCHOOL</b>		<b>FAITH-BASED SCHOOL</b>	
<b>Students</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>
Grade 12 ‘A’	1	1	3	2
Grade 12 ‘B’	1	1	2	3
Grade 12 ‘C’	1	1		
Grade 12 ‘D’	1	1		
Grade 12 ‘E’	1	1		
<b>TOTAL</b>	5	5	5	5
<b>Head teacher</b>		1		1
<b>Teachers of HGSC</b>	1	1		2
<b>Parents</b>	1	1	1	

#### *4.7.1.1 Granting permission*

I firstly negotiated written access to both schools in an interview with the head teachers. I explained the purpose of my research, the method of sampling and a proposal of schedule. Also, I highlighted the importance of ensuring the anonymity of the participants in the study. I obtained permission from them to conduct my research under the condition of not interviewing students and teachers during lesson times. School and classroom observations were authorised by them, but teachers would make the final decision about classroom observations.

After this stage, I interviewed teachers of HGSC to explain my research, get their approval interview them and observe lessons related to topics of citizenship. All teachers from both schools agreed to be interviewed; one teacher from the secular school did not allow classroom observation.

#### *4.7.1.2 Informed consent and anonymity*

The Human Rights Act protects the right to respect for private and family life and thus supports the need for consent to participate in research. The ESRC Framework for Research Ethics in its Principle Two states:

Research subjects must be informed fully about the purpose, methods and intended possible uses of the research, what their participation in the research entails and what risks, if any, are involved. (The ESRC, 2015)

This justifies the need to obtain informed consent from the participants in my study, especially from students, as they were not of age by the time I developed my fieldwork. Students' parents also were required to give their consent for their children to participate in the research. The Declaration of Helsinki (1964; 1989; 1996) states that for informed consent to be meaningful, written proof of such should be obtained.

This study is qualitative, a decision that implies that I, as a researcher, was involved as a 'guest in the private spaces of the world' and as such that my 'manners should be good and my code of ethics strict' (Stake 2005, 154). Researchers have to respect the dignity of the participants in the study and to protect their identities. Participants in this study were seventeen-year-old students, which means they have not yet come of age. This is the reason why this is a sensitive topic to study. In this sense, it was crucial to obtain ethical clearance from the University of Sussex before commencing the research.

Following the principles of ESRC in the UK related to the Framework for Research Ethics, two issues are mentioned that I had to consider when planning and conducting my research: consent and confidentiality. The third ESRC ethics principle states that: 'the confidentiality of information supplied by research subjects and the anonymity of respondents must be respected'. And Principle Four states: 'Research participants must participate in a voluntary way, free from any coercion'.

To ensure the safety of students and anonymity and confidentiality implies being respectful during the different stages of the research process, such as how participants are contacted, the choice of place to conduct the interviews and the signing of an agreement in which each participant recognises and agrees respect for the issues to be discussed and the right they have to withdraw at any moment.

An information sheet and consent form for students and parents/guardians, teachers and leaders of the parent and guardian associations were used in this study. These forms were translated into the Spanish language.

The information sheet was given to head teachers, HGSC teachers and leaders of the parent and guardian associations, explaining details of the study and the process. They read it and I explained any detail of the process they asked me to clarify. Also, information sheets were sent to parents to be read and to gain written consent from them for their children to participate in the study. The participants were recruited only when both

students and parents gave written consent through the consent form. I emphasised to all participants my responsibility as a researcher to ensure anonymity and confidentiality throughout my research.

All participants (head teachers, students, teachers and leaders of the parent and guardian associations) were informed that they had the right not to respond to any question they did not want. Also, they had the right to withdraw from the study at any time and to ask me to delete any data provided by them during the process. These rights and the right not to receive any penalty from me are included in the consent form. I also made it clear that I would not use any data collected during the observation process from participants who had not signed the consent form.

I defined with head teachers specific dates, times and rooms in schools to be contactable in in case any participant was concerned about any issue of my research. After the fieldwork was completed I provided head teachers with a mobile number and e-mail for participants who would want or need to contact me.

Participants had the opportunity to ask me to delete data provided by them up until submission, including after the fieldwork was completed. In this case, I would have deleted electronic data and hard copy of questionnaires, observations and interviews. I informed participants that after two months it was not possible to delete any data.

Sensitive disclosures could have arisen during the study. Confidentiality is related to the role and responsibility of the researcher when sensitive topics are being discussed. Participants in a research project sometimes feel more comfortable disclosing information to 'outsiders', in this case to the researcher (Krueger, 2000). A sensitive disclosure is any situation that implies an offence against an individual under 18 years of age. Actions to be taken if a student comments on or shares information that is 'sensitive' during an interview is a crucial factor that I considered and explained to the students under the terms of confidentiality. This means that I had the responsibility of informing the relevant authority if any sensitive topic was disclosed during my fieldwork. By law, any person who knows of an offence against an individual under 18 years of age has the obligation to report it. If that person does not report that offence or crime they are at risk of legal sanctions. Therefore, if any kind of 'sensitive' information had been disclosed to me, I

would have informed the head teacher and would have asked her or him to report it either to the police or the Ministry of Justice. I would have ensured the report is made.

#### **4.7.2 Research techniques and tools**

The main techniques used in this study were: document review, classroom and school observations, focus group discussion with students and semi-structured interviews.

##### *4.7.2.1 Document review*

Document review of the ‘Curriculum for Secondary Schools: Fundamental Objectives and Minimum Mandatory Contents and ‘HGSC textbooks’ for grade 12. The first review of these documents covered content, pictures and language. Documents contain authentic and meaningful data (Bryman, 2004) and hence the importance of reviewing their contents, specifically policy documents. There is a plurality of meanings ascribed to the text among different categories of readers (McCulloch, 2004, 47); this is the reason why actors within the education system take away different meanings from policies. The purpose of this research technique is to provide a point of reference for the development of focus groups, for interviews and observations, and to give a framework for determining the form of CE implementation.

##### *4.7.2.2 Classroom and school observations*

Observation methods have a long tradition of research, and let one compare what people ‘really’ do as opposed to what they say they do. For social scientists, non-participant observation is a method in which a researcher takes part in the daily activities of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture. This method requires a particular approach to the recording of observations (in field notes), and the perspective that the information collected is as critical to social scientific analysis as any other technique (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2002).

After selecting students, I arranged a specific date and time to develop observations in the school during an HGSC class.

Observations in classrooms and schools were useful to illuminate the whole context in which students learn about and exercise citizenship. I observed different areas in each school to choose an appropriate space to develop a FGD with students and also to capture

and locate any details and issues that might influence or be related to students' understandings of citizenship. For example, information on bulletin boards, rooms for student council meetings and infrastructure and facilities for classes and extra-curricular activities, amongst others.

Observations in classrooms during HGSC classes allowed me to capture and record impressions of what takes place in the classroom context: teacher and students' behaviour during a lesson, the layout of the classroom, contents of citizenship being taught and ways in which teachers deliver this knowledge. They also helped me to explore differences between what is said and how it is said and to cover situations that I had not included in my interview schedule (Cohen et al., 2010).

I took notes following my 'observation schedule form'. The purpose was to contrast what can be found and observed within the school and what students identify in the FGD as relevant issues for understanding citizenship and forms of practising it.

#### *4.7.2.3 Focus group discussion with students*

A focus group, referring to discussion originating in a group, can be defined as carefully designed to obtain perceptions on a particular area of interest; the focus group interview works because it affects the human tendencies (Krueger, 2000). Attitudes and perceptions about experiences people live, in the context of spending time together and sharing common spaces, are developed in part by their interaction with others. In this sense, this technique could allow me to understand and interpret beliefs, opinions, experiences and understandings students have and how the school context influences these understandings of citizenship and the teaching of citizenship. Set against this is a possible limitation the researcher faces of fear on the part of participants to open themselves up and talk about topics that sometimes could be sensitive. Another limitation might be the lack of interest and knowledge of the topics being discussed. In this case, the participants would need to be encouraged to participate in a more active way.

It can be argued that the aforementioned limitation is, at the same time, strength. The researcher might employ several techniques to make all participants get involved in the discussion in development. These techniques imply that the researcher would need to disclose part of her or his own identity to overcome barriers of shyness and fear among participants. So, the researcher is seen as a member of the group; participants recognise



they share similar characteristics, a situation that facilitates the dialogue in the group (Basch, 1987). As Farquhar (1999) claims, the identities of the researchers are integrated and involved in all stages of the research process, an issue that is more relevant because the researcher not only establishes contact and relationship with one individual but with a group and an institution, in this case, the schools.

Regarding participants in the FGDs, students selected in the sampling process were asked to take part in the initial focus group: ten students from the grade 12 course from each school, ten female and ten male in total. The FGDs run with students aged 17-18 allowed me to establish the parameters for the next stages. This means that I reflected on the data collected to make sure that topics on citizenship were being covered and that the design of my interview guidelines was appropriate for the purposes of my research.

I was interested in obtaining relevant students' insights regarding their concepts, opinions and practices of citizenship and CE, and the role of the school in the development of those concepts and opinions. This allowed me to confirm and establish key words and concepts to be included in in-depth interviews.

The development of the FGD was divided into four parts.

The *first* part was to introduce the topic and to know their general opinions about the city they live in and the school they attend.

The *second* part was to discuss:

- Opinions and thoughts about citizenship
- Opinions and thoughts about being a citizen

The *third* part was a discussion about the opinions of grade 12 students about CE and specifically in the subject HGSC:

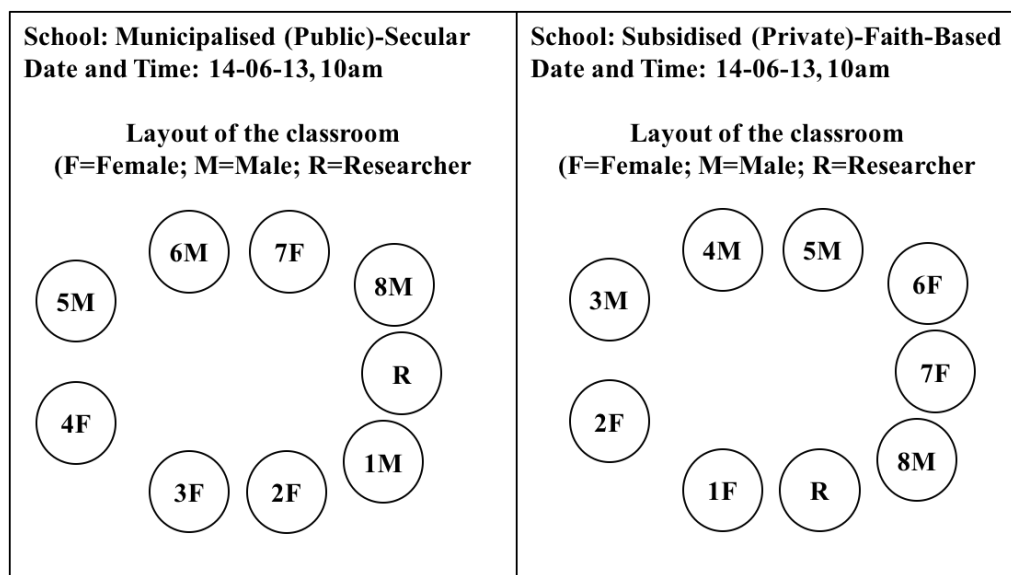
- Opinions and thoughts about CE
- Opinion and thoughts about the subject HGSC

The *fourth* part was to discuss the role of school in helping/hindering the practice of citizenship:

- Opportunities students have to participate in extracurricular activities promoted by the school
- Opportunities students have to participate in activities within the community
- Opportunities families are given by the school to participate in activities within the school and in the community

Two focus groups were developed, one in the PSS (School 1=S1) and one in the PFBS (School 2=S2). The layouts of the classrooms were organised as follows:

**Figure 4.1 Focus groups layout**



FGD conversations were recorded using two different devices to capture the best quality sound. Students were asked to consent to the recording of the session. I also took notes of relevant issues during the development of the FGDs.

Regarding the strengths and weaknesses of the FGD as a technique to collect data, several observations of the sessions developed with students can be made.

In both FGDs, I started by introducing myself as a researcher and explaining the purpose of the study and assuring them again of confidentiality and anonymity. After their initial questions, I asked them their opinions about living in their city and studying in their school. Most of the students from both schools actively participated in responding to this set of questions. However, I noticed that there were two or three leaders in each FGD that would give their opinions first, so the rest of the group waited to share their ideas until these leaders had finished talking. Thus, I had to make sure that I was encouraging all

students enough to participate by asking each question and then trying to look at those who were participating less actively.

In the PFBS, when the topics about the views and opinions of citizenship started, I tried to avoid expressions like ‘explain to me your definition of citizenship’. Instead, I sought to motivate the discussion with regard to how familiar some concepts were to them and to guide them to construct their descriptions and conceptualisations of the terms being discussed. Two students were more active than the others. One of them was a female student who mentioned at the beginning of the meeting how interested she was in politics, so she talked about one of the aspects of the legal dimension of citizenship (the right to vote), the right to express opinions and to be heard by society. Another student highlighted the importance of helping others in a community, starting in the classroom by having a good relationship with others. So, the discussion about the concept of citizenship and citizen took place between the legal status and commitment to a city/community/country.

Students from the PSS were not active in their participation at the beginning of the set of questions about views of citizenship. Some of them looked at each other and just giggled. I asked them why they seemed to be a bit nervous; their response was that they did not know what to say, so I encouraged them to express any opinion because everything they expressed would be relevant and meaningful. I used the expression ‘there are no good or bad answers’ more than once. I also needed to explain several times details about the study and my identity as a researcher. One of the strategies I used to encourage participation was to give them the opportunity to ask questions, so the first ten minutes of the session, after the initial set of questions, were more orientated to talking about the experience of the researcher when she was at secondary school, university and currently abroad doing a PhD. This was in the interest of the students as after this initial conversation, all the students were more active in their participation in the FGD interview. Some of them shared short answers to some topics covered, arguing they lacked the knowledge needed due to the absence of lessons on citizenship. An issue that facilitated the development of the session was the active participation of one male student who used to be a student leader and was a member of an indigenous youth group. He shared his opinions and asked the group to approve what he was sharing. What generated extensive participation was the set of questions on their perceptions of the subject HGSC.

In summary, the focus group interview is a relevant tool to collect data that represents more than one individual's perception. However, the researcher needs a high quota of motivation, patience, and respect and to not feel frustration when participants do not want to participate or recognise their ignorance or lack of awareness and knowledge in the topic being discussed.

#### *4.7.2.4 Semi-structured interviews*

Semi-structured interviews were developed with students in grade 12, with teachers of HGSC, head teachers and leaders of parent and guardian associations. The proposed study aims to contribute to the voice of students being heard. Interviewing as a technique prioritises the voice of participants and gives spaces for discussion and dialogue as well (Cohen et al., 2010). I opted for semi-structured interviews because they allow the collecting of information in each of the categories of interest and, at the same time, it enables spontaneous reflection of the interviewees, as it gives more flexibility to obtain more considered responses on the topics being studied. The interview guidelines allowed me to go back to previous questions to deepen into them when I realised that some topics were not being covered during the interview.

It was crucial to keep in mind that interviewing is a construction made by the interviewer and interviewee, which may result in better or worse data depending on several factors or conditions. Some of these factors are the language being used and the place in which the individual is interviewed, among others. I chose a space within the school where I could ensure the privacy and confidentiality of the participant but also where school staff could check on the safety of the interviewee during the interview. I made sure to develop the interviews in the afternoon when extra-curricular activities are usually held. I asked permission to record the interview; all participants agreed as I ensured confidentiality and anonymity. The observation of the participant during the interview was fundamental to the process of interpreting and analysing data; I took notes on my fieldwork notebook after each session was finished.

One of the decisions I made regarding interviews with teachers of HGSC was to include the teacher of the optional subject 'Social Sciences' in the PSS. The reason was that students mentioned in the FGD they were learning topics of citizenship in that subject. The teacher informed me that she had decided to adapt the programme for that subject to

work in issues on citizenship before the presidential elections in October 2013. Her goal was to prepare students of voting age to participate in those elections.

Interviews provided me varied information, from deep reflections and complex arguments to less elaborated speech. However, I consider all information as valuable because participants communicate their views, opinions and understandings also through silence or expressions like ‘I do not know what to say’.

#### **4.8 Data analysis**

Data analysis is the process of making meaning of the data collected and ‘making sense out of data involves consolidating, reducing, and interpreting what people have said and what the researcher has seen and read’ (Merriam, 2009, 201). As I mentioned before, this study is qualitative so richly descriptive; this is why words and meanings rather than numbers or frequencies of responses are more important when analysing my data.

##### **4.8.1 Analysis of documents**

Collecting and analysing data should be processes that occur simultaneously (Merriam, 2009). It means that I, as a researcher, started the analysis of the data at the beginning, i.e. after analysing the first set of documents and after the focus group sessions. The reason is that several issues were unknown at the start and others emerged while I was collecting the data. For example, even when I constructed a tentative interview schedule, it was during the process of interviewing people that I found out that other topics were emerging from the answers given by the participants which became meaningful keys for findings. So, I had to re-formulate, delete and add some questions to better explore interviewees' understandings of the topic being studied and to answer the research questions.

The process of data analysis started with the analysis of the documents ‘Curriculum for Secondary Schools: Fundamental Objectives and Minimum Mandatory Content’, ‘Plans and Programmes’ for secondary schools and the analysis of content and language of the HGSC textbook for grade 12.

I looked at their coverage of citizenship, citizen, rights, responsibilities, community, participation, gender, socio-economic status and geographical location. One of my

purposes was to look at language in the text that could reflect a specific ideology or theory about citizenship.

I used some tools of the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyse which theories of citizenship are embedded in the education documents and texts, specifically the curriculum in its three versions, and to explore whether these documents and texts show the intention to motivate, help or encourage the exercise of citizenship in students. In the words of Fairclough (1997, 352), CDA is:

A type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context...it takes an explicit position, and thus wants to understand, expose and ultimately resist social inequality.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997, 271-280) summarise the main tenets of CDA as follows: it addresses social problems; power relations are discursive; discourse constitutes society and culture; discourse does ideological work; discourse is historical; the link between text and society is mediated; discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory; discourse is a form of social action. About tools to be employed, the following have been chosen (Fairclough, 2003, 213): assumptions, hegemony and ideologies. I used this technique of data analysis in this study for the purpose of contrasting the contents of education policy and ideological discourse within the curriculum with the understandings students have developed about citizenship and the opinion they have about CE. Also, it was important to reflect on how education policy documents could maintain current power relations, increasing social inequalities.

Some tools of CDA were chosen for the analysis because of how they enable exploration of the implicit theories underpinning citizenship and CE embedded in the texts and images, and how they help to reveal and problematize the curriculum. If CE texts are intended to contribute to the formation of a citizen who understands the context in which s/he lives, empower and promote social responsibility, then how that is captured or represented in the texts used in schools is crucial. The application of CDA in analysing curriculum text enables an understanding of how ‘...social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context’ (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, 352). According to Van Dijk (1997, 353) ‘theory formation, description and explanation, also in discourse analysis, are socio-politically

‘situated’ whether we like it or not’. This asseveration can be seen in the themes that emerge from the analysis of the different documents, one of these is how the various actors called by MINEDUC to participate in their design have systematically influenced the ideologies embedded in these documents, depending on the political, economic, social, cultural perspectives they align with.

With respect to tools employed, I chose the following ones (Fairclough, 1997): assumptions, hegemony and ideologies. These tools were used to analyse the importance of topics considered in the enactment of the curriculum, what ideologies are embedded in shaping these documents and the extent to which these ideologies have found their way into conceptualising citizenship. Finally, it is to provide a framework for determining the form of CE implemented in the case study schools.

*Assumptions:* these are the implicit meanings of texts. Fairclough (2003, 213) argues that three types of assumptions are distinguished: existential, about what exists (definitive articles and demonstratives: the, this, that, these); propositional, what is the case; and value assumptions, what is desirable or undesirable. All forms of fellowship, community and solidarity depend upon meanings which are shared and can be taken as given, and no form of social communication or interaction is conceivable without such ‘common ground’.

*Hegemony:* Fairclough states that politics is seen as a struggle for hegemony, a particular way of conceptualising power which amongst other things emphasises how power depends upon achieving consent or at least acquiescence rather than just having the resources to use force, and the importance of ideology in sustaining relations of power’. Dominant groups exercise power through constituting alliances, integrating rather than merely dominating subordinate groups, winning their consent through discourse and the constitution of local orders of discourse. As Fairclough argues, hegemony naturalises unequal power relations and builds them into people’s common sense understanding of the production, distribution, and consumption process of discourse, and consequently interpellating them into subjects and reproducing the existing orders of discourse in such discursive practices. In this sense, what documents represent is a ‘battle’ for power: an elite or dominant political class trying to keep their dominance and the dominated struggling with the possibility of being liberated from that system.

*Ideologies*: these are representations of aspects of the world that contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation. Ideologies may be enacted in ways of interacting and inculcated in ways of being or identities (Fairclough, 2003). Not all discourses are ideological, whether symbolic forms or symbolic systems are ideological or not depends on whether they serve to establish and sustain relations of power in specific social contexts (Thompson, 1990). Subjects are ideologically positioned, but they are also capable of acting as agents to critique and, in this sense, oppose and transform ideological practices and structures, this means to change relations of power.

The topics or issues that have emerged from the analysis are: a) the national context in which the documents were enacted; this helps to better understand general characteristics of the discourse embedded in them; b) structure of the documents, i.e. what sections are present in them, objectives and the main contents in each one; this leads to reflection on why the documents were designed that way and if this could have been conceived in a different way (Fairclough, 2003); c) how citizenship and CE are being constructed, and if those concepts align to certain ideologies; d) ideologies embedded in the curriculum, reflecting on whether the way documents are being designed and enacted is influencing discourse that maintains unequal power relations (Fairclough, 2003; Thompson, 1990); a gap between theory and practice, in other words, what is said in the curriculum in terms of citizenship (importance, concepts, types) and how it is or should be practised.

Finally, this technique of data analysis was used in this study for the purpose of contrasting the contents of education policy on CE and ideological discourse within the curriculum. These were re-examined through the prism of students' understandings of citizenship and CE from exposure to the curriculum.

The question that guided the analysis of the three versions of the curriculum was: 'how are citizenship and CE discursively constituted in three versions of the Chilean school curriculum (1998, 2009 and 2013) and in HGSC textbooks for grade 12?

#### **4.8.2 Analysis of focus groups and interviews**

Regarding the FGDs and in-depth interviews, these were recorded and then transcribed. Transcription involves the 'complicated process of translating from oral discourse to written language' (Miller & Crabtree, 1999, 106). Inevitably, if one recognises that a FGD



or interview contains multiple communications, both verbal and non-verbal, then transferring such data to paper can never truly reflect reality: they serve as ‘frozen interpretative constructs’ (Miller & Crabtree, 1999). Also, interviews were conducted in the Spanish language, so the translation into the English language required understanding, awareness and proficiency in both languages. |

I recorded relevant issues observed during the interviews in my field notes, which allowed me to get an important amount of contextual information. These notes included interaction between students during the development of FGDs, the layout of the classroom as they chose where to sit and the group dynamic. After in-depth interviews, I wrote information down about body language, evidence of nerves, evasiveness or comfort, interruption/s from outsiders and any other issue that could have influenced the interviewees’ responses. Two examples to mention: I was interviewing one teacher in the PSS, and another teacher interrupted the session twice to offer coffee to us. He was a teacher of religion, so the interviewee explained to me that he is always looking after colleagues and students within the school as he is committed to his religious principles of caring for others. This episode, even when it could be understood as an interruption, in the end facilitated dialogue with the teacher being interviewed. Another issue I had to register on my field notes occurred when I interviewed a teacher in the PFBS. He had just attended training on the new proposal for citizenship education in the regional office of MINEDUC. As a result, the teacher was very excited about the new knowledge he had acquired the previous day and made deep reflections on the topics being discussed. His responses were different in several ways from those given by the other teacher of HGSC whom I had interviewed a few days before and who did not attend the mentioned training.

After the process of collecting data had been finished, I had to assume that there was an amount of data that had not even had a preliminary review while it was being collected. Following the work of Merriam (2009), I summarise the different stages of my data analysis: a) I identified segments in my data (units of data) that were responsive to my research questions, in other words, that were meaningful or potentially meaningful to answer my questions; b) I compared one unit of information to the next one, looking for recurring regularities in the data, I did this by coding my segments of data; c) I allocated my data (units of data) to categories or themes; d) some categories were subdivided, and others subsumed under more abstract categories (Dey, 1993, 44); e) I named categories

or themes; f) I made inferences, developed models, or generated theory based on my data themes.

As mentioned, the information, when being analysed, was grouped into categories of similar meaning to allow the definition of subcategories of study.

To find key concepts from the FGDs and to determine differences in the understandings of citizenship and CE between students from the PFBS and the PSS, and to determine opinions about the role of schools in the development and practice of citizenship, contents were compared taking into account: a) the uniqueness of responses students gave; b) the details of what was said and by whom; c) keywords given by the student in each question; d) the way the answer was organised. I argue that numbers or frequencies of responses are not important to establish categories and subcategories, but the importance of the answers that are unique should be considered, even when their frequencies are not high.

The way in which information was analysed followed a line by line coding. One example: What do you understand by citizenship?

**Table 4.2 Focus group discussions and in-depth interviews coding**

Coding: F= Female; M= Male; FG= Focus Group; S1= Secular School; S2= Faith-Based School

F7 FGS2	It's the <u>concept</u> of living in a society, how to behave in a society, to help others and not to be an <u>individualist</u> , I mean, not always dependent on oneself but also on people who help you.
M6 FGS2	To be a <u>citizen</u> also means that you have to <u>meet</u> certain requirements: to be 21 years old, have no criminal record, be born in Chile.
F4 FGS2	Also, <u>nationality</u>
F7 FGS2	If a <u>person</u> <u>helps</u> others in a country they should be considered a citizen even when s/he is not a national of that country. For example, I was not a citizen in Spain, I mean, after five years living there I got nationality. But before that I never stopped <u>being a citizen</u> , nor my parents; just contributing their bit to society, I believe that all of us should be considered equal citizens.
M1 FGS2	So yes, because, independent of the requirements generally considered to be a citizen, one can understand citizenship in <u>social</u> terms, for example, to <u>live</u> in a <u>city</u> where there are others, where every one of us shares with others, as our <u>classmate</u> said, where you support others, it means, it is not only about <u>legal</u> aspects. It is about helping society, to live in a community more than anything.

In the example given, all words underlined were grouped into categories of similar meanings. Thus, the preliminary definitions of citizenship included several dimensions such as legal status, age, nationality and community commitment, among others.

Once the analysis was completed, the themes that emerged were organised following classifications of the Chilean curriculum: the intended, implemented and experienced and the relevant categories of actors involved in this research.

#### **4.9 Limitations of my research**

Concerning limitations, this research is in the form of a small-scale case study. Twenty students, two head teachers, four HGSC teachers and three leaders of the parent and guardian associations were interviewed in depth. This situation limits the generalisation of this study and its implications for educational policy. However, this study is of an exploratory nature. Critiques of the interpretive paradigm could arise, but there is no consensus that a positivist study can give ‘correct answers and meanings’.

Another limitation is that only one researcher conducted this study; this limited the process of data collection regarding the timetable to be followed.

This study is focused on knowing, describing and explaining faith-based and secular secondary school students’ understandings of citizenship and CE; as such, there are other interesting issues that were covered only in general terms.

#### **4.10 Summary**

Chapter four of this thesis presented a discussion of the research design and methodology used in this study.

First, I explained the reasons to choose a qualitative methodological orientation. Qualitative research seeks to achieve an understanding of the phenomenon studied, starting with a comprehensive framework built by the subjects involved, focused on meanings, perspectives, processes, and understandings. It is an enquiry process that explores a social or human problem; most qualitative approaches have a focus on natural

settings. All these reasons prompted me to choose a qualitative approach as it allows me to explore students' understandings of citizenship and CE by talking to them in their natural settings. I attempted to make sense of, or interpret those phenomena by considering the meanings and experiences students bring to them. I also described the context in which citizenship is taught and experienced by students.

I chose an interpretive approach, whose focus is to place participants' interpretations at the centre of the study. It provides methods for developing an understanding of students' views on citizenship and CE and takes account of the diversity that exists among students in their local and familiar contexts. It avoids simplistic representations of understandings and allows for comparison and contrast between the students' concepts and experiences, rather than ignoring the students' presuppositions.

In the following section, I justify the reasons to choose case studies as a research method and how I selected the cases. A case study is a social science research strategy, which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence (Robson, 2002). It allowed me to study real people in real situations and to answer questions such as research method and how I selected the cases. A case study is a social science research strategy, which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon over how CE is promulgated in the Chilean curriculum, nor do I have control over how it is taught in the classroom.

I determined to use two case studies through the process of sampling, which consists of selecting units from a population under study, such as people or institutions, among others. The sampling in this study was a purposive non-probabilistic one because there is a purpose in mind. Secondary schools studied were chosen from a city in southern Chile, which has about 25,000 inhabitants and is more than 900 km south of the capital Santiago. Two secondary schools were selected, one faith-based school (private subsidised) and one secular school (public municipalised). I interviewed ten female students and ten male students of each school and head teachers, HGSC subject teachers, grade 12 teachers and four leaders from the parent and guardian associations.

Students in grade 12 (grade 4 of secondary school education) were selected because they should have received a high percentage of the citizenship contents included in the

secondary school curriculum. Also, because it is expected that students in grade 12 have achieved knowledge, skills and awareness of being ‘citizens’.

I discussed my positionality as a researcher. Prime points are that my life story influenced my research decisions; I considered myself both an outsider and insider in conducting my study and identified myself as a researcher rather than a social worker to not create false expectations for participants about my role.

I outlined how the fieldwork was developed following several stages or phases, which included: document review, granting permission, sample selection, informed consent and anonymity, classroom and schools observations, FGDs with students and semi-structured interviews with students, head teachers, teachers and parents.

The data analysis section provided a revision of the process of analysing documents, FGDs and individual interviews. It described how themes emerged and were determined. My study is qualitative so richly descriptive, a reason to emphasise words and meanings over numbers or frequencies of responses. I used some tools of the Critical Discourse Analysis (assumptions, hegemony and ideologies) to analyse which theories about citizenship are embedded in the curriculum in three of its versions and in the HGSC textbook.

I recorded and transcribed the FGDs and in-depth interviews and took notes of relevant situations I observed during the interviews and visits to schools.

I arranged the information analysed into categories of similar meaning to allow the definition of subcategories of study. Once the analysis was completed, the themes that emerged were organised according to classifications of the Chilean curriculum: the intended, implemented and experienced and the relevant categories of actors involved in this research.

Regarding the limitations I had to face in conducting my research, some of them were critiques of case studies because they do not allow generalisations; and also, that only one researcher conducted this study. Thus, the timetable had to be adjusted a few times; and as every research has its focus, other interesting topics have to be covered only in general terms.

The next chapter of this thesis presents an analysis of educational documents in Chile.

## **Chapter 5. The Chilean educational curriculum on citizenship education: the intended curriculum**

### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses key findings from data collected through documents. The documentary analysis developed aims to look at how policy-makers have re-engineered the school curriculum in response to a new scenario of democracy following the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990), in which different political, economic and social groups have sought to maintain power and others to gain it. Also, it is a response to new goals around democratic governance in an increasingly globalised world and in the context of a renewed interest in citizenship and participation of citizens in a democratic society.

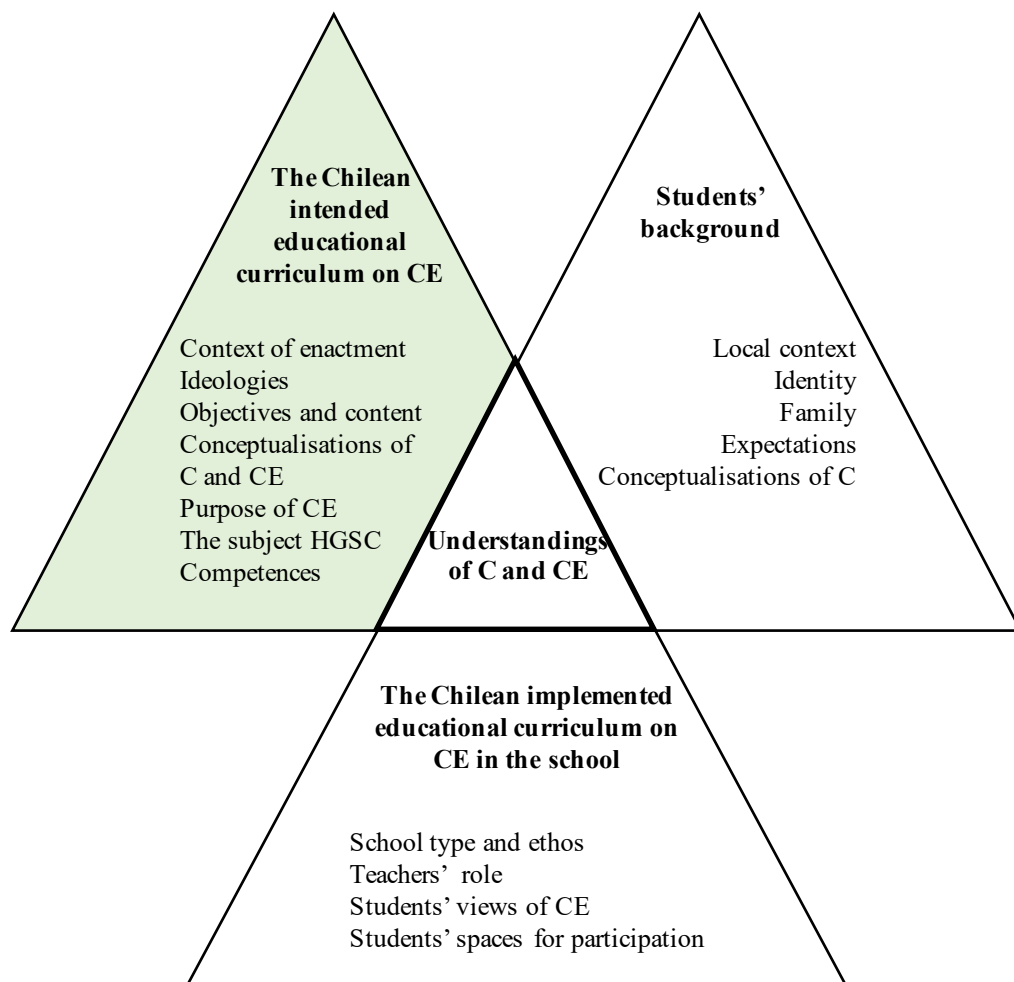
This section provides reflections on the analysis of the following documents: a) Curriculum for Secondary Schools: Fundamental Objectives and Minimum Mandatory Contents 1998; b) Curriculum Update 2009; c) Curriculum Bases for Secondary Schools 2013; and d) HGSC textbooks for grade 12. The analysis focuses on the content, pictures, language and discourse. Documents contain authentic and meaningful data (Bryman, 2004) and a plurality of meanings ascribed to the text among different categories of readers (McCulloch, 2004, 47), hence the reason why actors within the education system take away different meanings from policies. For example, the meanings or concepts of citizenship embedded in the curriculum and other documents are understood by the school community in ways that determine how these contents are taught and how students are made to understand themselves as citizens.

As mentioned in the chapter on methodology, the fieldwork for this study consists of different stages, from the previous review of documents, followed by FGDs with students, observations in classrooms and schools and finally, in-depth interviews with students, teachers, head teachers and parents. The first review of documents provided the basis for the detailed analysis of texts developed after the fieldwork.

This chapter shows findings divided into several subsections which emerged from the data analysis of documents previously mentioned: the context of enactment of three

versions of the Chilean educational curriculum and the HGSC textbook; ideologies embedded in the education curriculum; objectives and contents within the Curriculum 1998, Curriculum Update 2009 and Curriculum Bases 2013; conceptualisations on citizenship and the citizen within the curriculum; the purpose of citizenship education; citizenship education within the subject HGSC; and citizenship education in relation to the development of competences. The chapter seeks to answer the research question: how is citizenship and citizenship education discursively constituted in official government education policy documents in Chile?

**Figure 5.1 The Chilean intended curriculum on citizenship education**



## **5.2 Context of enactment of three versions of the Chilean educational curriculum and the textbook of History, Geography and Social Sciences**

The Curriculum 1998 for Secondary Schools formed the basis for the 2005 and 2009 updates and Curriculum Bases 2013, the new proposal currently being implemented. The document itself states that the curriculum was enacted by Supreme Decree Number 220, and aims to enable the student to continue studying, both in higher education and for incorporation into working life. The curriculum establishes ‘fundamental objectives’ (OF) which are the competences or capabilities that students should achieve by the end of secondary education (MINEDUC, 1998). These are divided into vertical and transverse objectives.

The vertical OF are the competences or capabilities that students should achieve in each course and level during the four years of secondary education through learning and experiences related to the areas of the curriculum. The transverse OF refer to knowledge, skills, attitudes, values and behaviours that students are expected to develop in their personal, intellectual, moral and social lives and have a general and comprehensive character. Their achievement is based on the formation of a curriculum set or subset that crosses traditional subject matter boundaries, i.e. they transcend a particular field of knowledge.

The Curriculum for Secondary Schools also establishes minimum mandatory content which describes the specific knowledge, abilities, and attitudes that must be taught to students if they are to meet the fundamental objectives for each level. They are expressed as a comprehensive set of detailed performance targets for each subject taught. Content defined as ‘knowledge’ by MINEDUC includes concepts, conceptual systems, and information about facts, procedures, processes, and operations.

An important issue in the discourse analysis of the curriculum and its updates and to understand the way CE is implemented is how the debates to enact them were developed, i.e. in a closed sphere (bureaucratic space) or in a context where different actors at the national level were invited to participate (Gazmuri, 2013). This information can be obtained from the different decrees that support the curriculum and its updates and from work developed by several scholars who have reflected on the evolution of the post-dictatorship curriculum.



Firstly, from analysis of the three versions of the curriculum it can be stated that there have been changes in emphasis, contents and objectives embedded in it, depending on the context of the country and the way it was promulgated.

The context of enactment for the Curriculum 1998 emerged after a debate between several actors, which brought together different groups, politicians, economists and professionals from the academic world (Cox, 2011; Zúñiga et al., 2015). As stated in the document, it was enacted following:

The set of criteria and suggestions arising from a national consultation on the curriculum for secondary education, organised by the Ministry of Education from May to August 1997, in which over sixty institutions, all secondary schools and thirty-six thousand teachers participated. (MINEDUC, 1998, 2)

The country was in a transition to democracy, so it can be argued that the government tried to balance power between the different, mainly left, but also right wing social, political and economic groups. Also, it intended to keep the status-quo, in that conservative groups have historically influenced society and specifically the education system (Cox, 2011; Waissbluth et al., 2010). This is one of the reasons why objectives and contents were defined according to ideas of a 'Republic' national identity, Chile as a country in democracy but needing to keep its patriotism, national identity and all those characteristics that 'make us Chileans' (MINEDUC, 1998; 3, 6, 20, 23, 24). At the same time, it can be argued that neoliberal groups influenced the enactment of this curriculum, as ideas that align with these groups are explicit in the document, such as the formation of a rational and tolerant individual and citizen who contributes to the development of the country and ideas of competitiveness among individuals (MINEDUC, 1998, iv, 1, 11). Influences from neoliberalism are present not only in the curriculum but the entire education system, in the words of Rubilar (2003) neoliberal interests in education were perpetuated by post-dictatorship policies that validated the right to profit from education.

In the scenario of transition to democracy, the emphasis on human rights and rights violated during the dictatorship should also be highlighted: 'values of the curriculum are based on The Universal Declaration of Human Rights' (p. 2); '...all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights' (p.22); 'Secondary education should promote in students the responsible exercise of freedom within the framework of recognition of...human rights' (p.22). Even when the importance of human rights is highlighted, it

seems to be always linked to liberal ideas of a free individual. These notions of human rights are mentioned significantly less than others in the curriculum but lead to reflection on how several actors from the different public and private spheres tried to influence the work of policy-makers in education. They had to incorporate different discourses, interests and goals in the new education document. The major actors participating in this version of the curriculum were education experts from various institutions such as universities and study centres, politicians, and members of MINEDUC, amongst others (Cox, 2006). As Gysling (2003) mentions in detail, the three main scenarios in which the enactment of the Curriculum 1998 occurred were:

- The Comisión Nacional para la Modernización de la Educación 1994 (National Commission for the Modernisation of Education): it was politically and institutionally plural, convened by the President of the Republic and the responsible group for agreeing on one value framework for the school education.
- A consultation (June-August 1997) on a curriculum proposal for secondary education prepared by MINEDUC, which was the collaboration of several institutions such as universities, teachers' associations, the Confederation of Production and Commerce, the Armed Forces, the Catholic Church, the Freemasonry and all secondary schools in the country.
- A dialogue between MINEDUC, universities and professional trade associations between 1995 and 1997; the result was the definition of a degree profile for more than forty specialities of vocational education.

In the Curriculum Update 2009, there was no direct involvement of specific economic or political groups in the design of the curriculum. MINEDUC did not call actors to participate in the process as had been done before. One explanation for this decision, in the words of Cox (2011), is that the existing structures of the education system did not require important changes, but adjustments. These modifications were identified through continuous assessments by the Unidad de Curriculum y Evaluación (Curriculum and Assessment Unit) and through the results of international studies in which Chile did not achieve the outcomes it expected to (MINEDUC, 2004; Schulz, Ainley, Friedman et.al., 2010). Also, after the mobilisations for better education for secondary school students in 2006, the Concertación Government was under more pressure to work on reforms.

Mrs Adriana Muñoz (Deputy) argued: that is why we recognise the value of citizenship. The “Penguins movement” of 2006 brought about the need for change; the project under discussion (a new Law of Education) is taking care of this. (Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile, 2009b, 32)

MINEDUC took into account conclusions and suggestions made by different groups and commissions working on education issues such as the School Board for Review of University Selection Tests Education, the SIMCE Commission, the OECD, the 2004 Citizenship Education Commission, the Pedagogical and Curricular Congress of Teachers and the Presidential Advisory Council for Quality Education (MINEDUC, 2009, 3). It also requested the opinion of some education actors (mainly teachers) through a public consultation conducted in 2007 and 2008. In summary, MINEDUC tried to make it clear that the curriculum was mainly updated following the opinion of education experts rather than political and economic ones:

The proposal has been constructed based on the following sources: social demands of the curriculum proposed by several actors and experts in education, such as the SIMCE Commission, OECD experts, the Citizenship Education Commission, the Teachers’ Council, and the High Council of Education; longitudinal analysis of the curriculum; and analysis of SIMCE tests. (MINEDUC, 2009, 3)

The discussion here could be that these actors, although they were not representing a political party, could have been influenced by political ideologies. In other words, even when specific political and economic groups aligned to conservative, neoliberal and liberal ideas did not participate directly in the enactment of the Curriculum Update 2009, their ideas can still be found in its discourse, especially in those about national identity and the importance given to economic growth and development:

General education...contributes to economic growth. (MINEDUC, 2009, 11)

General education must offer to all Chileans the possibilities of developing a sense of democratic life... (specifically) entrepreneurial mind, attachment to the homeland and its identity and traditions. (MINEDUC, 2009, 23)

The Curriculum Bases 2013 is a response to new learning standards, to changes in knowledge and the demands of society (MINEDUC, 2013). As a new LGE was enacted in 2009, updated education documents were needed. The LGE does not mention that the

student movement of 2006 was a key issue for its enactment, but several actors who participated in the creation of this law argue that students played a main role in driving the political decision-making process. Some quotes from the discussions in the Chamber of Deputies show how relevant the student mobilisations were in the completion of the LGE, and hence in the attainment of a new curriculum:

Mr Cristián Bellei, academic of the Program of Research in Education of the University of Chile, argued that the evidence accumulated towards the end of the 1990s already indicated the need to introduce institutional changes to make effective an educational reform for quality and equity, a conviction that has been ratified in recent years; thus, the status quo is not an alternative. The mission of OECD experts, the secondary schools' movement and all the participants in the Advisory Council convened by President Bachelet agreed on this idea, which is why her government, although in its program did not contemplate measures at this level, outlined "the new architecture of Chilean education"; the General Law of Education being the first column of this new building. (Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional, 2009b, 50)

Mr. Eduardo Catalán, Deputy President of the Metropolitan Association of Parents and Guardians, AMDEPA, warned that he was not an expert in educational matters and that he and his companions attended (the session at the Chamber of Deputies) as parents of students and because it was the students' movement that brought to the fore the debate about the quality of education. (Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional, 2009b, 102)

The Association of Private Education Establishments of the Bío-Bío Region, ASEPAR AG, through lawyer Mr. Nelson Lobos Zamorano, highlighted that the project of establishing the new law originated in the secondary school students' movement, nicknamed "Penguins" and it intends to satisfy their demands and improve the quality of education. (Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional, 2009b, 128)

Regarding the curriculum as a specific document, it was designed in the context of the right-wing government of Sebastian Piñera after a period of consultation with different academic, economic, social, cultural groups and institutions, organisations and government ministries. One can discuss that it was expected, being a government from the right-wing, that conservative ideas of national identity, with the citizen respectful of the political and institutional order, would be more emphasised than before, but this did not happen. On the contrary, expressions like 'patria' (homeland) and 'national identity', which are characteristic of conservative and republican thoughts, are absent from this new

curriculum. One reason could be that this new Proposal is being designed in line with the LGE. As previously stated, this law started being enacted during the Concertación government of Michelle Bachelet (2008-2010) and after student mobilisations demanding broad changes in education. Thus, the academic groups that have been working on these documents align more with critical pedagogies and competences approaches than with conservative groups. However, what does remain is the liberal concept of a citizen living in a democracy, capable of managing uncertainty in a globalised world.

Curriculum Bases seek to provide knowledge, abilities and attitudes that allow them (students) to behave as active and respectful citizens of democracy. (MINEDUC, 2013, 194)

Secondary education will have as general objectives (among others), that students develop the knowledge, abilities and attitudes that allow them to be aware of being part of a globalised world. (MINEDUC, 2013, 11)

A discourse that in previous versions of the curriculum highlighted expressions like ‘economic growth’ and ‘development of the country’ has been replaced by ‘entrepreneurship’ and ‘the development of society’ (MINEDUC, 2013, 10).

As can be seen, there has been a shift in emphasis of discourse in the different versions of the curriculum, from a more conservative and republican one that ensures respect for the national identity and order in the country and liberal for the stability of democracy, to one that aligns to the characteristics and challenges of a globalised world in which the development of a critical thinking is necessary. But what remains the same is a focus on the individual that needs to develop the knowledge, skills/abilities and attitudes to respond to different contexts both nationally and internationally, ideas aligned with liberalism and human capital theories.

The main changes can be summarised as follows:

**Table 5.1 Main curriculum changes between 1998 and 2013**

	<b>1998</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>2013</b>
Why was it enacted?	<p>The need of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- update, reorientation and enrichment of the curriculum to respond to rapid changes in knowledge and society.</li> <li>- offering students relevant knowledge, skills and attitudes to help them as individuals, citizens and workers, as well as to contribute to the economic, social and political development of the country.</li> </ul> <p>What LOCE 18962 of 1990 (Law of Education) states: MINEDUC has to enact a curriculum framework based on Fundamental Objectives and Minimum Mandatory Contents.</p> <p>Need of improving quality and equity in education.</p>	<p>The need of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- update, reorientation and enrichment of the curriculum to respond to rapid changes in knowledge and society.</li> <li>- providing a common cultural base across the country that promotes social cohesion and integration and supports cultural diversity.</li> <li>- improving the coordination of the different education levels to ensure a consistent quality across levels, preserving the uniqueness of each one of them.</li> <li>- improving quality in education, ensuring its equity, engaging the participation of the national community to achieve this purpose.</li> </ul> <p>Personal development of each Chilean and equitable, sustainable and efficient development of the country.</p>	<p>A new Law of Education. A new curriculum needed to respond to the requirements of this new law.</p> <p>New General Objectives for Secondary Education.</p> <p>New learning standards.</p> <p>The need of update, reorientation and enrichment of the curriculum to adjust it to changes in knowledge and demands of society.</p>
How was it enacted?	<p>Debate, reflection. Several actors involved in the process: politicians, professionals from different disciplines, policy-makers, pedagogy experts. Widely socialised, publicised.</p>	<p>No need for political consensus. No main changes to the curriculum itself. Several actors and institutions from the academic world involved in the process. Socialised into the academic world.</p>	<p>Bases were analysed and improved through a process of consultation with social, political and educational actors and organisations: government ministries, public services and institutions such as the Central Bank, the National Institute for Human Rights and the National Service for Children, among others, gave their opinions and suggestions to improve this proposal.</p>

The above table can be summarised with the following quote:

In historical perspective, it can be seen that the deeper and more demanding the changes are, the greater the extent of the participation and consultation processes. When changes have been adjustments 'inside' structures and existing categories, consultation and participation have been specialised and more focused on improving the processes than on building and legitimating policy among teachers. (Cox, 2011, 5)

Regardless of all changes promoted and approved by the respective authorities, ideologies have not changed dramatically; a discussion built upon in the next section.

### **5.3 Ideologies embedded in the curriculum**

One of the themes that emerged from the analysis of documents and the fieldwork was the ideologies embedded in the curriculum, the text of HGSC for grade 12 and in the understandings of citizenship and CE. The three core ideologies identified for this study are conservative, liberal and neoliberal. Also, throughout the analysis, it was clear that several aspects of human capital theories have been shaping the curriculum. For this study, I consider 'human capital' as an ideology, and not only as 'theory', that influences the design of educational documents. There are also ideologies related to critical pedagogy which are referenced as well.

Conservative and neoliberal ideologies are more orientated to keeping the 'status-quo' and relations of power, domination and exploitation (Fairclough, 2003). Liberal ideologies aim at cultural transformation but respecting the political order, democracy and individual rights are a priority (Faulks, 2013). Human capital ideologies focus on work and economic well-being (Zepke, 2015). Critical pedagogy places importance on the experiences people live, experiences that contribute to cultural transformation (Levstik, 1996).

After the regime of Pinochet, a new context of democracy forced the education system to teach contents that had been ignored in previous years, such as dictatorship, democracy itself, violation of human rights and restructuring of the political and economic order. It has been argued that to decide what topics should be taught in secondary education, specifically in the subject History and Social Sciences, meant to achieve political consensus rather than to privilege pedagogical issues (Cox, 2011). One clear example of

this statement is that when the new democratic government of Patricio Aylwin (1990-1994) started to run a substantial number of designated senators, all of them from the right wing or Pinochet supporters were members of the Chilean Parliament. This means there was a constant tension between different actors involved in the enactment of a new curriculum as it has to be approved by the Senate (Cox, 2011). Thus, the new version of Curriculum 1998 contains conservative ideologies aimed at promoting the transmission of traditions in a society and loyalty to the state. At the same time, other actors influenced this version, those aligned to liberal ideologies; this can be seen in the emphasis on democracy and exercise and respect for human rights, among others. The priority given by the Concertación government to human capital and economic development is shown throughout the curriculum for both primary and secondary schools:

Students should develop the relevant knowledge, skills and attitudes for the economic, social and political development of the country. (MINEDUC, 1998, 1)

General education constitutes the basis of the economic growth of the country. (MINEDUC, 1998, 10)

One of the contradictions seen in this version is that even when liberal ideologies are present in the discourse of what History and Social Sciences as a subject should include, the contents remain mostly conservative. According to the literature review, some examples that illustrate this fact are universal history, Christian tradition, national identity and those heroes who are a model of virtue and patriotism. In summary, the conservative ideology postulates that contents to be taught should be those for which there is consensus within Chilean society (Delannoy, 2000). There is always consensus on topics such as patriotism, national identity, national history, and respect for the homeland, for those who align to republican/conservative thinking.

The Curriculum Update 2009 shows a shift in its ideologies as a result of the actors that influenced its enactment and, in consequence, on the HGSC curriculum discourse itself (Gazmuri, 2008). The dominant ideology are liberal and critical, followed by conservative. One reason is that, as has been said, no political consensus was needed to enact this version but more participation of actors from the academic sphere. As is stated in this version of the curriculum, the sources from which reforms were designed are the work of the School Board for Review of University Selection Tests Education, the SIMCE Commission, the OECD, the 2004 Citizenship Education Commission, the Pedagogical



and Curricular Congress of Teachers, the Presidential Advisory Council for Quality Education and surveys for teachers (MINEDUC, 2009). In consequence, the discourse is more orientated to the need of understanding the influence of globalisation in the national context and to the need of individuals to be ready to face the challenges the new scenarios demand.

The Curriculum Proposal 2013 can be seen a mix of conservative, liberal and neoliberal ideologies. For example, contexts in HGSC are still focused on teaching the importance of the 'republic'; liberal ideologies place emphasis on the individual living in a democratic society; neoliberal on ideas of competition between people, but this time presented as a desirable goal of competences for success in a globalised world in which entrepreneurship is needed. In the 1998 version, actors involved in its enactment tried to keep neoliberal ideologies out of the curriculum to maintain the stability of the democracy (Gazmuri, 2008). However, contents being taught did align to neoliberal ideologies, as mentioned in the previous example. This return to neoliberal ideology may be explained by the fact that no political consensus was needed for this proposal and some actors involved in the process (members of MINEDUC participating in different commissions) belonged to the right-wing government of Sebastian Piñera, historically aligned to neoliberal ideologies.

Regarding the contradictions of ideologies, the discourses present in the definitions and objectives of HGSC in the curriculum are significantly different from each other but the contents remain similar, only the sequence in which they are taught has changed. One example is that the topics in the Curriculum 1998 are related to the Chilean context and its different regions are part of the contents to be taught to students in grade 9; these contents appear compulsory for students in grade 12 in Update 2009. It means that only the organisation of topics has changed but not the contents students learn. The main reason to explain this issue is that each curriculum is built upon the previous version, and so retains several sections the same way.

In the 1998 version, the update 2009 and proposal 2013, emphasis is on the history of Chile and Occident, the chronological order of events, and free thinking and interpretation, mainly because each version states that it is important to create a new one, keeping the base the previous curriculum has left, and building new concepts and contents that respect the work done before (MINEDUC, 2009, 1; MINEDUC, 2013, 1). Regarding other differences between the versions of the curriculum being analysed, the influence of

conservative ideologies led to keeping contents of the ‘Republic’ as a primary emphasis in the 1998 version; but this disappears from the updates of 2009 and 2013. From the analysis, it can be stated that Update 2009 tries to incorporate more content on democracy and the knowledge society, topics more related to liberal ideologies. It is interesting that the Proposal 2013 focuses on competences in a globalised world, which has to do with a liberal and cosmopolitan vision of the current scenario but, at the same time, it goes back to the importance of political and institutional order. Possible explanations to these new emphases and also the return to ideas from the Curriculum 1998 might be the sources used to enact the Curriculum Proposal 2013. The document clearly outlines the actors involved in its design and the sources (international studies in education). These studies, such as the ICCS, highlight the importance of the development of competences in students in the plural, global scenario. As mentioned, there have been student mobilisations since 2006, situations that obviously defy the public order. This might be an explanation for referencing respect for institutional order in the country.

#### **5.4 Objectives and contents within the Curriculum 1998, Curriculum Update 2009 and Curriculum Bases 2013**

Each version of the Chilean education curriculum consists of different sections, which are the common basis for all levels of secondary education as well as for each of the subjects to be taught. These sections include requirements for secondary education, values and principles, definitions, concepts and objectives, and minimum mandatory contents, among other things. The comparison between contents of these sections leads to reflection on what has changed, what remains the same and reasons for these changes.

The Curriculum 1998 contains several OF, orientated to the development of skills that students must achieve to complete the various levels of secondary education. Focus is put on the acquisition of knowledge and skills that allow them to choose from different options for higher education or the labour market, the formation of character in terms of attitudes and core values, the development of personal and national identity based on the Political Constitution of the Nation and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, personal growth and assertiveness, development of thought (research, communication and problem-solving skills; analysis, interpretation and synthesis of information) and the

improvement of personal, family, work and social interactions (MINEDUC, 1998).

As already mentioned, each version of the curriculum being analysed is a response to a different national scenario. After almost two decades of democratic governments certain social groups like secondary school students, have been demanding changes in the educational system, including petitioning for a new curriculum. Some international reports in education and human rights did not show Chile achieving a good attainment, one of the reasons for the previously mentioned demands (Comisión de Formación Ciudadana, 2004). In relation to human rights, Update 2009 was re-orientated towards the incorporation of ideas of cultural change at the local and national level in a context of globalisation. Minorities in a global society should be given more spaces for participation (Decreto Supremo 280; MINEDUC, 2009, 1), but these statements are not embedded throughout the whole curriculum. A specific example of the lack of incorporation of minorities into the curriculum discourse is the absence of definitions of national identity that encompass different social groups, i.e. national identity is presented as a homogeneous concept. Some examples in which the idea of identity is incorporated in the curriculum are:

(Education) must offer all Chileans the opportunity to fully develop all their potential and the ability to learn throughout life, providing them with a moral character reflected in the personal development of freedom...in the sense of a democratic life, the entrepreneurial spirit and a feeling of the nation and homeland, identity and traditions. (MINEDUC, 2009, 23)

Therefore, students are expected to develop an attitude of respect for the cultural diversity of humanity and the country, along with a sense of belonging and solidarity towards ever wider communities, from the local context to humanity, valuing their social identity and membership in the national community. (MINEDUC, 2009, 195)

These ideas show that the emphasis is on individuals to develop certain skills in certain context (the Chilean one). However, conceptualisations that incorporate specific aspects of cultures within the country are absent from the curriculum itself. The only explicit inclusion of minorities is in the particular curriculum for 'Indigenous Language', but this is not compulsory, and it is taught only in primary education. Regarding ideas of identity, this subject states:

Chile is a multicultural and multilingual country in which a diversity of cultures and linguistic systems converge; this imposes the challenge of turning the school into an educational space in which boys and girls from different cultures and languages are given opportunities to learn indigenous languages in a way that is systematic and relevant to their reality. Hence this law (Indigenous Law 19253) through Articles 28 and 32, propitiates the respect and promotion of indigenous cultures, for which it states: ‘the use and conservation of indigenous languages, alongside Spanish, in areas of indigenous high density’ and also the ‘implementation of an intercultural bilingual education to prepare indigenous students to function adequately both in their society of origin and the global society’. (MINEDUC, 2009, 121)

A main change in Curriculum Update 2009 is the purpose of secondary education, which is ‘to promote the development of students and their participation in society’ (MINEDUC, 2009; 1, 24) rather than a narrow idea that secondary education seeks to provide students with the knowledge and skills that allow them to choose from different options for higher education or the labour market (Decreto Supremo 220). Another change is the order and contents taught in each grade and the pedagogical tools that should be used in the classroom. For example, in HGSC (previously History and Social Sciences) students start by learning local and national issues in grade 9 and then the emphasis in grade 12 is on globalisation and international affairs. In Curriculum Update 2009, the focus in grade 12 is on regional and national contexts influenced by globalisation and other phenomena. Also, pedagogical tools being emphasised in this update are teamwork and the development of personal and community projects instead of tools orientated to memorisation.

The Curriculum Bases 2013 has a focus on the personal, intellectual, moral and social development of students, which was present in the previous curriculum but this time, it is organised in a different way. OF and CMO were withdrawn and replaced by Transversal Learning Objectives (OAT) and Learning Objectives (OA) for each level and subject. The OA include several ‘dimensions’: physical, affective, cognitive-intellectual, socio-cultural, civic, moral, spiritual, proactivity and work, personal plans and projects, and information and communication technologies. There are objectives for each dimension; students should develop the skills to achieve them.

In summary, several changes in objectives and contents can be identified in the versions of the curriculum being analysed. The purpose of secondary education in Chile changed;

Geography was added to the subject ‘History and Social Sciences’; other subjects were added to the later versions of the curriculum, such as ‘Indigenous Language’ and ‘Foreign Language: English’. However, even though subjects were added, and others removed, and contents and pedagogical tools were improved, objectives and contents of the curriculum remain almost the same. Therefore, one must reflect on what the purpose of changing subjects and contents is if objectives are to remain nearly identical in the three versions of the curriculum.

As was explained in the chapter on methodology earlier in this study, because of the education reforms in Chile, there was no articulation or coordination between what the Curriculum 2009 of HGSC suggests as contents for this subject, the guidelines of PP and the 2013 textbooks in their different versions, depending on editorial. The focus of HGSC should have been to strengthen CE in grade 12; PP also shows this emphasis, but the textbook used in 2013 followed the suggestions of a former PP based on the Curriculum 1998. Thus, I have focused the documentary analysis on the actual textbook used in 2013, when considering those contents related to citizenship embedded in it.

For the purposes of analysing the textbook, first I reviewed what the Policy for Textbooks of MINEDUC states about the materials and sources to be used by students. The HGSC textbook for grade 12 is edited following what is dictated by the Textbook Policy 2009-2010, Decree 53 (May 5, 2011) and Decree 495 (February 9, 2015). The textbook plays a central role in the way teachers teach, both in the classroom and other learning spaces (such as the library or at home). It helps teachers to plan, prepare and develop their classes, and for students it means a guide to articulate their learning process. It should be intended as an instrument of equity and cultural enrichment for families in areas of greater socio-economic and cultural vulnerability. It is stated that:

The Textbook Policy of the Ministry of Education of Chile is characterised by its constant innovation in direct line with the transformations of national society, educational institutions and teachers and students. Thus, textbooks have been refined in form and content, introducing new elements that enhance learning, making it a more dynamic and interactive process for teachers and students. (MINEDUC, 2010c, 3)

The organisation of topics within the text is a response to the didactic approach used to treat the contents of the subject and educational requirements, as a result of which, students should achieve a greater and more efficient degree of autonomy to develop their

learning. In this context, various activities are proposed; they aim at students developing skills that enable them to obtain new knowledge, not only in the study of history but also in other disciplines of the social sciences. Also, it is considered that autonomy in the generation of knowledge must also be aimed at the acquisition of social values and civic responsibility with the local community (the country), the region (Latin America), and at a global level.

The main topics related to citizenship found in the textbook of HGSC are: democracy, participation of citizens in democratic and neoliberal regimes, human rights, human rights in Latin America, and dialogue between citizens for resolution of conflict. From the textbook, I can state that its primary focus is to guide students to understanding the characteristics and dilemmas of the contemporary world and invite them to link these processes studied to their experiences and the experiences of adults nearby. This is what it is highlighted in the ‘appropriation of concepts’ and ‘self-assessment’ sections of each unit of the textbook.

The main changes can be summarised as it follows:

**Table 5.2 Main changes to the curriculum of the subject History, Geography and Social Sciences**

	1998	2009	2013
Main objectives of the Curriculum	<p>Definition of Fundamental Objectives (OF): skills that students must achieve to complete the various levels of secondary education; they guide the whole process of teaching and learning.</p> <p>Acquisition of the knowledge and skills that allow the students to choose from different options for higher education or the labour market.</p> <p>Formation of character regarding</p>	<p>There were changes in the definition of what OF mean, but these objectives remained the same. Definition of OF: learning what students must achieve at the end of the different levels of primary and secondary education. They refer to knowledge, skills and attitudes that have been selected to promote the development of students and their participation in society, which is the goal of the educational process.</p>	<p>Withdrawal of OF and MMC. They were replaced by Transversal Learning Objectives (OAT) and Learning Objectives (OA) for each level and subject. OAT: personal development and the moral and social behaviour of students. OA: skills, attitudes and knowledge that seek to promote the comprehensive development of students.</p> <p>Personal, intellectual, moral and social</p>

	<p>attitudes and core values.</p> <p>Developing a sense of personal identity and national identity, based on the Political Constitution of the Nation and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.</p> <p>Personal growth and self-assurance.</p> <p>Development of thought (research, communication and problem-solving skills; analysis, interpretation and synthesis of information).</p> <p>Ethics training.</p> <p>Improvement of personal, family, work and social interactions.</p>	<p>Acquisition of competences that are considered essential for personal development and to function in civic, social and work areas.</p> <p>Developing a sense of personal identity and national identity, based on the Political Constitution of the Nation and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.</p> <p>Development of thought (research, communication and problem-solving skills; analysis, interpretation and synthesis of information).</p> <p>Ethics training.</p> <p>Improvement of personal, family, work and social interactions.</p> <p>Acquisition of skills for using information and communication technologies.</p>	<p>development of students.</p> <p>The Learning Objectives include several 'dimensions': physical, affective, cognitive-intellectual, socio-cultural and civic, moral, spiritual, proactivity and work, personal plans and projects and information and communication technologies. There are objectives for each dimension; students should develop the skills to achieve them.</p> <p>Provides the teacher with a guide to focus and organise their work and to design procedures for evaluation or monitoring of learning.</p>
How these objectives can be achieved	<p>Both through what the curriculum establishes and what schools propose (Educational Project of the School)</p> <p>Time of free use, development of activities that align with the OF objectives, for example, Course Council.</p>	<p>Both through what the curriculum establishes and what schools propose (Educational Project of the School)</p> <p>Time of free use, development of activities that align with the OF objectives, for example, Course Council.</p>	<p>Both through what the curriculum establishes and what schools propose (Educational Project of the School)</p> <p>Time of free use, development of activities that align with the OF objectives, for example, Course Council.</p>

### **5.5 Conceptualisations of citizenship and the citizen within the curriculum**

As has been argued in this study, citizenship and citizen are highly contested concepts within academia (Kerr, 1999b; Kymlicka and Norman, 1994). The analysis of documents and data allowed the finding of notions of these two concepts embedded in education documents and understandings students have developed of them. Therefore, I argue that the evidence shows controversies and contradictions in the definitions of those terms in the documents and also in the ways students understand the concepts.

Firstly, the analysis of the three versions of the curriculum shows that there is an assumption of citizenship as a desirable thing (Faulks, 2013) and 'citizen' is linked to notions of an individual committed to her or his country and to other individuals.

Decreto 220 (Decree 220) states that citizenship is an expected result of the education system. Although it stresses this expectation, there are no specific transverse objectives related to the practices and forms of citizenship in the Curriculum 1998, which is a contradiction. In other words, even when the importance of helping students to develop an active citizenship is expressed in the curriculum there are no specific goals orientated to promote education practices that may help students to develop citizenship.

The recognition of the existence of a 'citizen' is shown in the introduction of the Curriculum 1998; there is a differentiation between the term 'citizen' and other categories in social life, i.e. students need to be offered the knowledge, skills and attitudes that are essential for them as a person, citizen and worker (MINEDUC, 1998) as well as for the economic, social and political progress of the country. The idea of citizen and citizenship is explicitly linked to rights and responsibilities, and to the respect for national institutions as well as the history of Chile, ideas strongly influenced by conservative conceptions. Students should show the development of certain attitudes that will help them to become citizens, such as self-assurance, relationship with others, rights and responsibilities, team work, handling of evidence, truth and criticality, dialogue and conflict management, amongst others (MINEDUC, 1998).

With respect to the Curriculum Update 2009, contents of citizenship were included in the subjects HGSC and 'Philosophy and Psychology'. One of the main changes in emphasis concerning the Curriculum 1998 is the introduction of the idea that citizens belong to a civic community in which they should participate actively. This update, like the



Curriculum 1998, considers citizenship as a desirable result of the education process and a value to be understood by all students:

The State must guarantee a quality education that contributes to each woman and man being competent in the exercise of citizenship. (MINEDUC, 2009, 2)

In the Curriculum Bases 2013, the idea of citizenship and citizen is linked, as in the previous curriculum, to the understanding of national history. The new emphasis is that students should relate these notions to the context of an increasingly globalised and interdependent world, being aware of the interaction between the national and global levels. As the document states, students:

...should have knowledge about key milestones and processes in the history of humankind, especially those political, cultural and religious issues of relevance to Chilean society, and show awareness of being part of a globalised world. (MINEDUC, 2013, 11)

...should know and value the history and its actors, traditions, symbols and territorial and cultural heritage of the nation, in the context of an increasingly globalised and interdependent world. They must be aware of the tension and complementarity between the two dimensions (national & global). (MINEDUC, 2013, 24)

This version of the curriculum offers a new paradigm through which the teaching of citizenship topics can be encouraged. The proposal is discussed in the following chapter, but for now, it can be argued that the proposal of a new way to teach citizenship and civic topics does not go together with substantial changes in notions of citizenship and citizen within the curriculum being proposed.

In reference to what the textbook for the subject HGSC suggests as focuses for citizenship, they are (Milos, Osandón & Bravo, 2003):

- Value democracy as a system of government, which ratifies equality before the law and allows the free participation of all citizens, unlike that of totalitarian regimes.
- Value democracy as a system of government that guarantees individual, civil and political liberties for all citizens.
- Reflect on the social influence of neoliberalism worldwide.
- Understand the differences and conflicts between people, societies and countries; conflicts should be resolved through dialogue.

- Value diversity of opinions about different historical events or processes, recognising that the variety of opinions, judgments and ways of thinking enriches us as citizens and as societies.
- Value the importance of the search for agreements and consensus and respect for human rights in the region (Latin America and Chile).
- Social movements as a movement of citizens.

As previously stated, there are no direct mentions or definitions of citizenship and citizen within the 2013 textbook used by the two schools participating in this study. However, the two ideas are employed in the text with a direct connection to attitudes that citizens should develop to understand and behave appropriately in certain current scenarios: in democracy, in neoliberal contexts, in the protection of human rights and in the relationships that are established with others in Latin America.

## **5.6 The purpose of citizenship education**

The three versions of the curriculum being analysed do not consider the teaching of contents on citizenship through one specific subject. During the dictatorship of Pinochet there was a particular topic called 'Civic Education', orientated to forming citizens that respected authority and the law. Key objectives of the Curriculum 1998 about citizenship were national identity and democracy, contribution to social cohesion and the education of a rational, tolerant citizen, able to understand the past, present and make plans for the future. As Decree 220, Article 2 states, 'education provides training for the full exercise of citizenship'. This means that in the Curriculum 1998 there is an existential assumption that citizenship should be exercised by human beings, it is understood as a 'value' and categorised into the individual level. In other words, there is no understanding of citizenship as an objective itself and as a condition that should be developed at the individual, group and community level. One of the paragraphs that shows this emphasis on the individual is stated in the introduction of this version:

The recognition of liberty, equality and dignity for all people demands the State guarantee a high-quality secondary school education that helps each man and woman to become a free person, socially responsible and competent in the exercise of citizenship and work. (MINEDUC, 1998, 3)

Another paragraph that emphasises this level and citizenship as a value states: ‘In relation to the individual and his or her context, (transversal) objectives aim at improving personal, familiar, labour, social and civic interactions, in which mutual respect, active citizenship, national identity and democratic life should be central values’ (MINEDUC, 1998, 23).

The importance given in the Curriculum 1998 to the contents of citizenship can be linked to two main issues: a) the need of actualisation, re-orientation and enrichment of the curriculum that arises from continuing changes in knowledge and society; in this context, students need the knowledge, abilities and attitudes to develop their lives as individuals, citizens and workers, as well as to contribute to the economic, social and political development of the country (MINEDUC, 1998, 1); b) the need to make secondary education relevant for the training of the individual as a person and as a citizen, as well as to help the student to continue tertiary education and/or enter the labour market. These two ideas led to the discussion that, in a quite new context of democracy, the emphasis is on the growth of the country firstly in economic terms and secondly in social and political terms, i.e. it can be stated that citizenship was constructed with regard to human capital. Ideas of citizenship linked to a global context, communitarian participation, among others, are absent from the Curriculum 1998.

In the Curriculum 2009, the objectives of CE provide an integrative view of history, geography and social sciences, for understanding the complexity of life in society. These objectives are most clearly reinforced and visible in the final year of secondary school when young people reach the age of majority and become full citizens.

In the Curriculum Proposal 2013 it is recommended to work with contents of citizenship from grade 7 in three subjects: HGSC, Maths and Language. CE starts to be understood as a goal itself rather than a result or outcome of the education process. The new emphasis in this proposal is citizenship in a globalised world and systems of participation that emerge in this new scenario.

The Curriculum Proposal 2013 considers a new pedagogical strategy for improving CE. It is seen as a cornerstone of the teaching and learning processes, which incorporates competences needed for cooperation in a plural, respectful and motivated society, among other social components. These requirements come from three social phenomena: processes associated with globalisation and the knowledge society; sustainability of

democracy in Latin America, and knowledge of formal participation and institutional systems for participation (MINEDUC, 2013). The proposal aims to generate a discussion among teachers based on analysis of the relevance of the knowledge, skills and attitudes related to CE. This project is built transversely. All actors in the education community may contribute to the training of an active and responsible citizenship in different contexts of Chilean society. It considers conceptualisations, such as globalisation and CE, systems of participation and democracy, conceptual tools to address curriculum design, mainstreaming of CE, technical guidelines for assessing CE, principles and values guiding the curriculum for CE and the knowledge, skills and attitudes required.

In summary, the understanding of the purpose of CE in the curriculum has not dramatically changed but it has incorporated an emphasis on the characteristics of a plural society.

Citizenship education is an essential need in the twenty-first century; to form active, responsible, engaged citizens committed to the role they play in society. In this context, CE is seen as a cornerstone of the teaching and learning of students, as it considers the essential competences to cooperate on the building of a plural, respectful, motivated and responsible, ethical society (MINEDUC, 2013).

### **5.7 Citizenship education within the subject History, Geography and Social Sciences**

Firstly, there is no specific contents in the HGSC subject related to definitions, concepts, and practices of citizenship. As has been explained in the literature review chapter, Civic Education was withdrawn from the national curriculum, and it was proposed that in the new version of 1998 civic and citizenship contents should be taught in 'History and Social Sciences' and 'Philosophy and Psychology'. The reason given by MINEDUC is that 'civics' includes contents that can be taught in more than one subject, so students can understand it from more than one perspective.

The Curriculum 1998 establishes that the subject of HGSC aims at developing in students the knowledge, skills and dispositions that enable them to structure an understanding of the social environment and its different components, characteristics and processes. This area also aims (MINEDUC, 1998, 97):

To guide students to act responsibly and critically in their social contexts, based on principles of solidarity, care of the environment, pluralism, democratic values, national identity, (and) responsible participation in community activities.

This specific Curriculum 1998 should contribute to the intellectual development and civic education of students, more so when it is considered that they should be able to fully exercise their civic rights upon their graduation. In this sense, the curriculum is expected to include the recognition of the legitimacy of the diversity of views and the ability to argue and debate, which are essential for participation in a pluralistic society (MINEDUC, 1998, 100). Students also should be helped to interpret the present and to make plans for the future.

The Curriculum Update 2009 in its section for HGSC does not differ to the previous one in terms of its main objectives but incorporates specific goals related to citizenship formation, for example, learning about society in historical perspective, geographical space and democracy and development. The development of concepts, skills and attitudes remains a central emphasis of this update. At the same time, the interpretation of society, the present and the ability to make plans for future life are aims that did not change in relation to the Curriculum 1998. Some OF in HGSC are: to value life in a democratic society; know, understand and act in accordance with the principle of equal rights; responsibly exercise increasing degrees of freedom and autonomy and regularly perform acts of generosity and solidarity; and participate responsibly in school activities and projects in the family and in the community.

An important change introduced in specific relation to grade 12 is that the focus of the subject HGSC is the strengthening of CE.

For grade 12, the emphasis is on enhancing citizenship formation and reviewing the main challenges that globalisation represents for Chile and its regions. It accentuates the development of values and skills for the responsible exercise of citizenship. It is expected for students to become aware of the challenges Chilean society faces, to reflect on these challenges and give opinion through the elaboration of diagnosis and social projects' (MINEDUC, 2009).

As mentioned previously, the Curriculum Bases 2013 proposes the development of knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary to understand the complexity of social reality

and the future of Chilean society as a primary goal of the subject HGSC. The subject aims to promote learning as a significant contribution to meeting the challenges of coping in an increasingly dynamic, plural and changing world. It also addresses the interpretation of the present and how this is linked to the past and future.

It seems that the three versions of the curriculum in the subject being analysed address the same issues, though all of them are embedded in the different versions, one is more pronounced than the others. In the Curriculum 1998, the focus is on the student (individual) that needs to learn and respect her or his national history; in the Update 2009 the target is the understanding of a more globalised context and the importance of responsible behaviour in society; finally, the Proposal 2013 stresses the development of capacities to live in a global reality.

With reference to specific contents of citizenship, in the subject History and Social Sciences the idea of citizenship is linked to specific contents of politics and political organisation and Rome and Greece as ancient civilisations: fundamental political concepts of Ancient Greece still valid; debate on issues such as citizenship, democracy, tyranny, politics; and the role of the city in shaping Western political life. This means, citizenship linked to concepts of what 'republic' means. Other important ideas are the creation of regional authorities and forms of political participation of citizens, knowledge of regional and national political institutions, citizens' rights and duties contained in the Constitution of the State of Chile and knowledge and understanding of the process of regionalisation in Chile and the political organisation of the State in which rights and duties of citizens are part of the contents taught. These concepts and contents are related to liberal conceptions of citizenship, i.e. a focus on democracy and rational citizens living in democratic contexts.

In the Curriculum Update 2009, there is a new emphasis on citizenship given through the influence of communication systems on human relationships established with others, as well as in the production of goods, culture, entertainment, education and politics. However, specific contents about these topics are not clearly expressed in the curriculum section for HGSC.

In the Curriculum Bases 2013, the subject HGSC shows similar goals related to topics of citizenship. As already explained, a new proposal for CE is being promoted and

implemented; it is this one which groups objectives and contents about citizenship. Thus, specific contents for grade 11 and 12 are not yet defined, mainly because these grades will not be included at the secondary education level. Currently, MINEDUC is working on a new proposal for these grades, which will be part of a new level of high schooling to students aged 16 and 17 years.

One of the main issues around the intended curriculum that captured my immediate attention was that different documents that should articulate the teaching of HGSC content, therefore of citizenship, were disjointed in themselves. In 2013, the curriculum intended for grade 12 was the 2009 version (or Curriculum Update 2009). Although the Curriculum 2009 itself proposes specific contents of citizenship, such as the exercise of citizenship and citizens' responsibilities (MINEDUC, 2009, 240), these contents are not specified in the PP document in 2013. The reason for this is that PP 2013 followed what is prescribed in the Curriculum 1998 and its update in 2005 and not what was intended in the 2009 version. Thus, what was proposed in 2009 was not implemented in 2013. The textbook for HGSC is based on the contents proposed in the Curriculum 1998 and 2005 as well, so it does not include more specific contents of citizenship. What I also found is that a new PP for 2014 was proposed, with a unit focused entirely on citizenship as it is in the Curriculum 2009 (what it means to be a Chilean citizen, political participation, and citizens' responsibilities, amongst others). This means that students who were about to graduate in 2013 did not receive more specific contents of citizenship.

### **5.8 Citizenship education in relation to the development of competences**

The intended Curriculum 1998 constructed CE as a 'group of contents' that primarily had a direct relationship to civic matters. Hence, the focus has been on issues that can be understood as a framework for good civic behaviour. In the curriculum Update 2009, it is stated that OF should be more orientated to promoting citizenship which is understood from ethics, moral and civic formation. In 2013, a new curriculum proposal for CE had been intended to encourage in students the development of competences needed for citizenship. It is conceived as a set of contents to be taught and a group of competences to be developed in more than one subject (Maths, Language and HGSC). However, this proposal does not cover grades 11 and 12 as a reform in education is currently in process.

The Curriculum 1998 of HGSC states that the formation of citizens should include knowledge about the state (or nation-state) and the political system and also (and this is a new emphasis) to develop in students the skills and attitudes for a democratic social coexistence. The diversity of views and the ability to argue and debate are essential for the development of a pluralistic society. The knowledge that is associated with citizenship topics is democracy and human rights; national identity and international relations; social cohesion and diversity; political economy; and environment education, among others. Skills to be developed are: the management of public information; expression and debate; relationships with others and expertise for the management of new situations; critical thinking and moral judgment; organisation and participation; and formulation and resolution of problems. Attitudes to be promoted are: personal and social responsibility; the concept of the 'other'; social inclusion; and peaceful and democratic coexistence.

One study about classroom assessment of primary and secondary schools conducted by MINEDUC in 2006 showed the shortcomings on the achievements of the goals defined for HGSC with particular reference to CE. Therefore, the curriculum Update 2009 is the response to these deficiencies in HGSC. In a document about the justification to change the subject of 'History and Social Sciences' to 'History, Geography and Social Sciences', several issues are clarified. One of them is the shift of the subject towards CE, an area that should be promoted in the curriculum Update 2009. Emphases linked to CE are: the understanding of historical temporality and knowledge of historical processes; understanding identity as a historical and social construction; systematic understanding of geographical space; assessing and acting responsibly within a particular geographic area for sustainable development; the value of the rights and duties of life in society; understanding and appreciation of the fundamentals of representative and participatory democracy; and skills of inquiry, analysis and reporting. In other words, what is new is the importance given to geography in the understandings of citizenship. However, as will be discussed, students do not relate some of these emphases with understandings of citizenship.

In the 2013 textbook for HGSC, there is no specific mention of CE, because it follows what is prescribed in the 1998 and 2005 curriculum rather than in the Update 2009. However, several topics that are linked to citizenship can be found in the textbook, such as human rights and identity. When these contents are analysed it can be stated that they form part of the set of contents on CE; there are several mentions of 'citizens' for example,



fighting for the protection of their human rights or being part of a Latin-American community.

## 5.9 Summary

I have presented a discussion on the key findings from the analysis of the data collected from documents, specifically the Curriculum 1998, Curriculum Update 2009 and Curriculum Proposal 2013, and the textbook for the subject HGSC. I have looked at how policy-makers have re-engineered the school curriculum to respond to the recovered democracy after the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990) and to the new interest and emphasis on CE in Chile.

Before the fieldwork for this study, I reviewed the documents previously mentioned in order to have a base to construct my data collection tools. The first review of documents provided the basis for the detailed analysis of texts developed after the fieldwork. The main themes that emerged from my analysis were: context of enactment of three versions of the Chilean educational curriculum and the textbook of HGSC; ideologies embedded in the education curriculum; objectives and contents within the three versions of the curriculum; conceptualisations of citizenship and citizen; the purpose of CE; CE within the subject HGSC; and CE in relation to the development of competences.

The Curriculum 1998 for secondary schools formed the basis for the updates in 2005 and 2009 and the new Proposal 2013, currently being implemented. It establishes fundamental objectives which are the competences or capabilities that students should achieve by the end of secondary education, and minimum mandatory content, which describes the knowledge, abilities, and attitudes to be taught to students. It emerged after a debate between several actors, such as politicians, economists, professionals from the academic world, and religious and social leaders, among others.

Curriculum Update 2009 was enacted with no direct involvement of specific economic or political groups. The modifications needed were identified through continuous assessments by the Curriculum and Assessment Unit and the results of international studies in which Chile did not achieve the expected outcomes. Experts in education, especially teachers, were consulted. The Curriculum Bases 2013 is a response to the

recently promulgated LGE, new learning standards, changes in knowledge and the demands of society. Both, the Update 2009 and Proposal 2013, were the result in a significant way, of the student mobilisations seeking and demanding quality education for all.

The three versions of the curriculum show changes in emphasis, contents and objectives embedded in them, depending on the context of the country and the way it was promulgated. In addition, some contents and pedagogical tools were improved. What has not decidedly changed over the years are the discourses and ideologies ingrained in them. Neoliberal, liberal and republicanism are its prevailing ideologies; human capital emphasis is present in the curriculum as well, and some critical ideas have been incorporated in a major way.

Citizenship education is delivered through the subject HGSC. There is a lack of articulation between documents in education due to the continuous changes in the curriculum. One example is that in 2013, according to the Update 2009, the focus of HGSC should have been to strengthen CE in grade 12; but PP and the textbook of HGSC were following the guidelines given by the Curriculum 1998.

Regarding conceptualisations of citizenship and citizen, the evidence shows controversies and contradictions for those terms in the documents. First, there are no direct references or definitions for citizenship and citizen within the curriculum and the textbook. Citizenship is an expected result of the education system and is usually connected to attitudes that citizens should develop to understand and behave appropriately in current scenarios (democracy, neoliberal contexts, on the protection of human rights, amongst others). It should be exercised by human beings; it is understood as a 'value' and categorised into the individual level. Although the Curriculum 1998 emphasises the importance of citizenship, there are no specific transverse objectives related to the practices and forms of citizenship. The notion of 'citizen' is linked to conceptions of an individual committed to her or his country and other individuals.

The Curriculum Update 2009 and the Proposal 2013 introduce some contents and broad conceptualisations related to citizenship that show the topic is relevant to Chilean society. The Update 2009 includes citizenship themes in the subjects HGSC and 'Philosophy and

Psychology', not through a particular subject like 'Civic Education' during the dictatorship of Pinochet.

Since 2014 CE has been implemented from grade 7 in three subjects: HGSC, 'Maths' and 'Language', according to the Curriculum Proposal 2013. It was argued that the purpose of CE in the curriculum has not dramatically changed but has incorporated an emphasis on the characteristics of a plural society. This version has been intended to encourage in students the development of competences needed for citizenship. The emphasis on competences was also present in 1998 and 2009. This focus is shown in the encouragement to students to develop the skills and attitudes for a democratic social coexistence; to be able to argue and debate, negotiate, organise and participate, formulate and resolve problems and to get the knowledge needed for the practice of citizenship.

One reflection at this stage is that different political, economic and social groups have sought to maintain power and others to gain it. CE could be a liberating force for students who would learn how to practise their citizenship; thus, how to balance the distribution of power. However, this liberation depends on the discourses, intentions and ideologies of those who design and enact the education curriculum; in the case of Chile, those who have maintained power for years have been involved in promulgating the curriculum.

Having reflected on how citizenship and CE are enacted in the Curriculum 1998, Update 2009 and Proposal 2013, the next chapter examines students' views of these phenomena being studied.

## **Chapter 6. Students' understandings of citizenship in relation to their backgrounds**

### **6.1 Introduction**

This Chapter is focused on exploring themes linked to the social actors relevant to the construction of students' understandings of citizenship. From the analysis of data, the three categories of social actors were the students themselves, their families and the community they live in and/or the school. As discussed previously, the local context plays a fundamental role in the construction of the personal and community identity, a fact that impacts the way citizenship is understood and experienced.

The principal themes to be presented are the local context, identity, expectations about students and their understandings of citizenship and the citizen. This chapter seeks to answer the research question: how do students construct their understandings of citizenship and CE in relation to their backgrounds? The diagram 6.1 explains what area of this framework is unpacked in this chapter.

### **6.2 Citizenship and its relationship with a local context and in shaping identity**

In terms of how 'identity' is constructed and related to citizenship, the curriculum and textbook for HGSC subject make a relationship between these two concepts. The curriculum states that the education process contributes to the personal identity of individuals and the complete exercise of citizenship (MINEDUC, 1998, iv). Identity is constructed in two basic terms: first, as the competences or skills a person develops to face life, and the second one in relation to the membership of an individual to a national context (country or nation). In this sense, the three versions of the curriculum being analysed affirm:

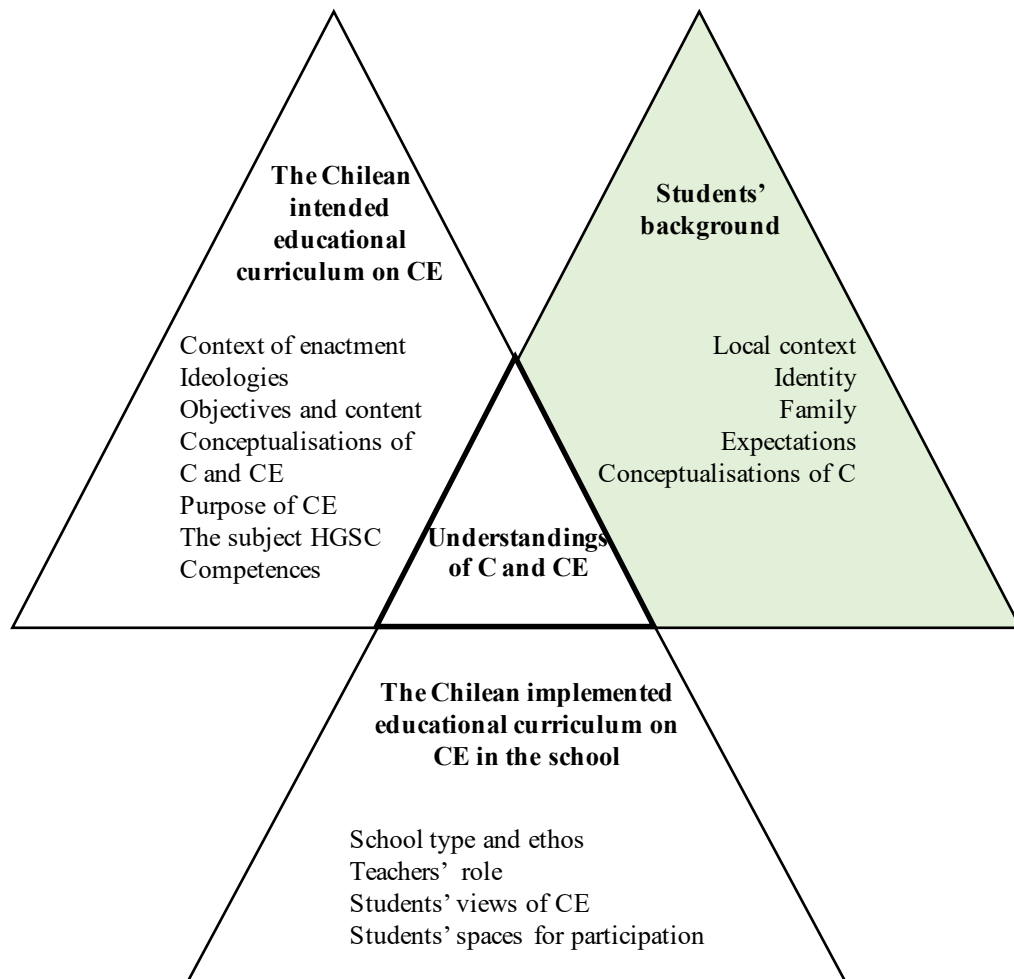
(One Fundamental Objective is)...Developing a sense of personal identity, especially around the perception of acquiring competences that allow students to confront and solve problems in life. (MINEDUC, 1998, 19)

Students should understand their past and how it is related to her/his daily life, with her/his identity and the environment. (MINEDUC, 2013, 195)

The Fundamental Objectives must help students to develop reflectively and critical attitudes, which allow them to understand and actively participate as citizens in the care and strengthening of the national identity and social integration, and in solving the many problems modern society faces. (MINEDUC, 1998, 20)

The Transversal Objectives that have been part of the national curriculum have responded to the need of stimulating an identity that promotes values and ideals shared nationally. (MINEDUC, 2013, 22)

**Figure 6.1 Students' understandings in relation to their background**



The evidence from the case studies shows that for most students from both schools, 'identity' is an issue related to their understandings of citizenship. From their points of view, it can be analysed as follows:

- The identity of students as citizens
- Students' identity as citizens has relation with lived experiences in the city of residence.

Regarding students' perceptions about themselves as citizens, there were different opinions expressed in the FGD and in the interviews. Some views aligned with the idea that an individual will be a citizen when s/he turns 18 and not before and others consider that even when a person is not of age s/he can play a role in society.

Some questions that arise at this stage are:

- What does 'students will be citizens once they turn 18' actually mean?
- Why do they have this notion of being a citizen?

These questions have some responses that I discuss in the following paragraphs and sections of this chapter.

Following what was already said about the two points of view of identity, for two students from the faith-based school, they are not citizens until they turn 18 years of age. Their perceptions are that they are practising or exercising to become citizens soon. One of these students is interested in studying Law once she graduates from secondary school. She mentioned that she is always reading material about politics and law and that she would have liked to participate in the last municipal elections in Chile, but she could not as she was not of age. Thus, her understanding of being a citizen is shaped by the interest on legal issues in which definitions of citizenship are framed by the membership to a nation-state and a particular age (Marcela, PFBS).

All other participants from the PFBS agree that even when they are not 'full citizens' yet (or citizens-to-be), they are citizens in several ways. Once again, they highlight the importance given to social participation. However, this involvement is bounded to particular activities in which people under 18 years of age are allowed to participate such

as sport, music, church and charity groups, among others, as well as in the election of members of the Students' Council at school.

Some students from both schools highly value these opportunities to exercise as citizens because they are already making some changes to occur in their local contexts. In the opinion of other students, it is important to them as 'citizens-to-be' to practice citizenship in certain ways even when there is a feeling that this is not as much important for adults as it is for them.

We gather in the headquarters of the board of neighbours to rehearse our songs to perform in activities in our town, especially those for charity, it's important you now... to help. The neighbours don't seem to be interested in what we do, but at least they let us use the place for free. (Miguel, PSS)

It can be argued that the case studies show that students' perceptions about citizen imply a notion of them as individuals who are 'becoming citizens':

I am not a citizen yet, but I am trying to learn because I like politics.  
I will be a full citizen by the end of this year. (Marcela, PFBS)

They are not 'full citizens yet', this can be summarised as it follows:

- Students can participate in several spaces within a community, mainly in the school. Citizens have the right and responsibility of social participation, so students can be seen as citizens because they are involved in different social activities.
- Students, as individuals, belong to a specific city/local context/community like any other citizen, thus, in this sense they are citizens.
- Citizens can make decisions that affect themselves and others. Students are citizens because they make decisions every day about several things.
- Citizens have the right and responsibility of political participation; they can vote once they are 18. Students are not allowed to vote because of their age, thus in this sense, they are not citizens yet. They can practice how to vote during school elections. Nonetheless, this is important only for the school community.
- Students have the right of giving opinions because they are human beings. Their voice is heard by some people in the society, especially school members, friends, family and relatives and leaders of the groups in which they participate. But national, regional and local authorities do not take their opinions into account in decision-making processes. For this reason, they are not citizens yet. An individual of full age is allowed to demand the

authorities to adjust or change public programmes and different laws, among others. In other words, s/he has the right to interfere in the public sphere.

In summary, students are citizens in terms of participation, belonging and decision-making, but not politically speaking.

The second issue to be discussed is identity in relation to lived experiences in the city of residence. The evidence suggests that the local contexts in which students are immersed may shape their understandings on citizenship and identity. It is relevant to present some discussion about opinions they have with respect to the city where they live (advantages and disadvantages).

Most students from both schools think that being born and raised in this city has allowed them to develop a sense of belonging to a specific community with characteristics that differentiate it from others. Their identity is related to a membership to a small town or city, in which people develop a deeper understanding of the local culture. In this type of context, they live a quiet life, which is positive for them and they establish close relationships with their families, relatives and neighbours. Closeness to others is an important issue because individuals get to know each other more and help those who are in need in several ways (social, financial, health, psychological problems, etc.). In a relatively small context, people have more opportunities to get involved in several activities at the local level. In the case of the PFBS, three students were born and raised in other cities, reason they made comparisons between living in this town and other larger ones. From the views expressed, it is an advantage to be part of a small community because people build closer relationships, the crime rate is lower, and it is easier than in bigger cities to trust each other. The following quotes make a summing up of students' views:

I like to live here; we moved from Santiago three years ago. It's very quiet here, there is harmony between neighbours, and people respect rights more. (Jaime, PFBS)

I like to have been born here, I feel I value more than people in the capital for example, my family and friends. I can see the Mayor of the city on the street and say "hello" and if something happens to me while I'm walking anyone would know where to go for help. (Juanita, PSS)



While students from both school highly value advantages of living in a small city in southern Chile, they opine that it has several disadvantages. The main one is the fewer opportunities they have to access to certain goods and social and cultural activities. For students from the PFBS, an important disadvantage is that they will have to move to another city after graduating to study in the university because all good tertiary education institutions are located in the capital and other main cities far from their current city. This means that they have to leave their families and friends with whom they have built close relationships. One issue that is discussed in the following sections of this chapter is about expectations students, their families and the society have of them after they graduate from secondary school. All participants from the PFBS expect to study in the best universities or at least in a good one; the evidence shows that none of them is making plans to work or to get entrance to a technical education centre. Thus, for them, it is an important issue that they have to leave their small town to achieve their goal of becoming a ‘professional’. It seems not to be a disadvantage for students of the PSS. Almost none of them is making plans to move to a city far from their current place of residence to study in a well-ranked university. What they see as the best option is to work or study in the larger cities within the province, to which they can travel every day.

Another disadvantage mentioned by students is the sense of isolation. A small city, in their views, has no significant socioeconomic influence on the province and region. For this reason, they think national and regional authorities ignore them. One student thinks that inhabitants of the city many times have to help each other to find solutions to certain problems when the authorities (mainly the Municipality), do not provide one. As a student commented:

Others make important decisions about the future of our city, without consulting us. Sometimes they cannot do anything here, we are a small town, but you see people helping others. (Jorge, PSS)

From the views expressed by students, I can argue that an important trait of being a citizen is linked to the experience of living in a particular community. As citizens, they can learn they have the right, responsibility and opportunity to make political decisions that could benefit their communities regardless the size and geographical location of the city in which they live. The discussion aroused so far is whether this experience is brushed aside when it comes to practising CE in schools, issue to be covered later.

### 6.3 Expectations

Another topic discussed with participants was the expectations both school and families have of students as citizens. I explored whether there were differences between the two groups of participants depending on the type of school and the involvement of students in the community that may influence the way in which different social actors perceive them as citizens.

Students, teachers and parents from the PFBS converge in the opinion that the primary expectation is students to become ‘professionals’. This means, they expect all students to get entrance into tertiary education to get the best degree for them. In words of one teacher, ‘the school is well known to have alumni who are professionals, they have got good jobs, and several of them have been students and labour leaders’ (Cristóbal, teacher, PFBS). A good attainment in higher education is the way to contribute to a better society and community and to be good citizens. There is also an emphasis on how important education is in improving socioeconomic status and wellbeing of individuals. For such goal, a key decision is where parents enrol their children; those who have the chance of paying private schools will choose that option. The driven market ideology is seen in some opinions they give:

This is the best school in the commune; our prestige is high. There is another private school in the city; parents would choose them or us, but preferably us. We know that schools have to compete to get students; we don’t have to! There is a lot of families interested in this school; there is a waiting list, but we can’t accept all of them. (Cristobal, teacher, PFBS)

I will get what I’ve been studying for: to achieve a high score in the PSU; I want to become a successful person in the future, and to tell everyone that I come from a small town. (Ema, PFBS)

One PFBS student first opined that society expects youth to make social changes and from her, as an individual, to get an academic degree. Another student did not mention higher education as a main expectation. All other participants share the same opinion about the importance of obtaining a degree, in their views:

Expectations.... studying, that is to have a good attainment in university, to get graduated, and work; to contribute to society. I can do this by working for someone at the beginning and then, perhaps, through entrepreneurship. To start my own business, after that to employ people to help a little bit, maybe five people, even

a little help. I will be helping, exercising my concept of citizenship.  
(Alex, PFBS)

I think that this generation thinks that young people can produce changes. All young people want free education. Then society hopes that this generation can produce these changes. But previous generations also thought the same way because young people are more idealistic, but nothing happened. These ideas are more relevant nowadays because of the student movement. There are many young people more concerned about the social problems... And from me, they expect me to do well in the university.  
(Marcela, PFBS).

What I have heard, and I had experienced when I was a student, society expects students to be mature people when graduated to get good results in the PSU, to make the right decision... citizenry expects students to have made a good choice of profession. Secondly, the discourse of the majority is that all these young people who are going to graduate to go to vote. But in reality, parents are more concerned about work than in the exercise of citizenship. That is my opinion. Parents of our former students are always more interested in telling us my child is studying, s/he has done well rather than saying s/he is voting or joining protests.  
(Miguel, teacher, PFBS)

I guess the expectation is they do not fail in the famous PSU, to study what they really want, good degrees... to do what they like, to be good people, good citizens. (María, parent, PFBS)

Participants from the PSS agree in the importance of getting access to tertiary education. However, in their views, not all students will have this opportunity, a significant proportion will work once they graduate. There were no specific mentions to contribution or involvement in the community like it happened in the PFBS. The head teacher gave an opinion that differed from others. A sum up of their views:

Society is preparing us for this; society gave us the opportunity to study to get a job. (Jorge, PSS)

Almost always it is our parents, or the elder people, who have expectations. Because we young people do not motivate each other, on the contrary, we discriminate each other; we tell ourselves that supposedly we cannot do it. But parents expect us to work, to study and to become someone in life, to grow as a person.  
(Mariana, PSS)

My personal expectation is that throughout life they show to be good children to their parents, very obedient, then to be excellent professionals, happy parents, excellent citizens and Chileans.  
(Juan, PSS head teacher)

The expectations in the PFBS are related to what Grace (2003, 155) points out that ‘...in Catholic schools the spiritual, the moral and the social are necessarily interconnected as categories’. This is one of the reasons why students and staff from religious schools seem to be engaged in the school, solidarity and the community in which they try to get involved. As Grace (2003, 157) also argues, ‘faith-based system is also compatible with the principles of a liberal education and with the principles of a democratic and socially caring society’. What this author affirms is consistent with the evidence from the PFBS in which there is a strong discourse of individuals who have to become professional people and succeed in society. There is a focus on academic achievement and contribution to the country, all ideas that align with liberal ideologies.

#### **6.4 Understandings of citizenship and the citizen**

From the analysis of interviews with the participants in the study, it seems not to be difficult for them to explain what they think citizenship is. Students, teachers and parents’ opinions, understandings and definitions converge in several ways, i.e., the meanings they construct are similar regarding contents and emphases (nationality, participation in voting, being of age, rules, involvement in a local community, among others). Thus, one could assume that citizenship is not a highly contested concept for the participants. One of the issues to be highlighted is that almost all participants define citizenship by explaining what they understand a citizen is and should be. More clarifications of their views came out as they described how citizenship is exercised. Also, the evidence shows clear differences when the discussion is about how they understand a ‘citizen’. These issues are developed throughout this section. I start with classifications or definitions given for citizenship and citizen.

Citizenship is a concept that participants (students, teachers, head teachers and parents) immediately relate to two dimensions: the age (to be 18 years old) and nationality (to be Chilean). When deepening in students’ opinions, there are some differences between those from the PFBS and the PSS. The first group’s views are more focused on the legal status of citizenship; students from the PSS are more inclined to link citizenship to the belonging or membership of a citizen into a specific community. One reason might be that more topics on citizenship had been covered in the PFBS, so students still

remembered definitions covered in HGSC lessons. Some of the answers that show these opinions and their differences are:

I think that citizenship means to have a nationality, let's say the Chilean one. (Marcela, PFBS)

Citizenship is to have certain rights because you are 18 years of age. (Daniel, PFBS)

I understand that citizenship has to do with people that live in a community, in a particular society, something like that. (Carlota, PSS)

The analysis of the interviews with teachers converges in several ways with opinions given by the students. When teachers give their views of what citizenship is they mention the dimension of membership/belonging to a community, as some students do. One difference should be highlighted: this membership is bestowed upon citizens because there is a political affiliation given by the right to vote and for a commitment to political participation.

Citizenship has to do with the exercise of the characteristics that define a citizen, I mean, a citizen has the right to vote, to elect her/his authorities, s/he can dispute different public programs and decisions. (Cristóbal, teacher, PFBS)

When I look at how students understand what citizenship is or should be, I am interested in analysing contents that are unique. At the same time, as already mentioned, I am interested in accounting for how the context in which students have lived, the experiences they have and currently live influence their understandings of citizenship. In other words, how their life stories inform the way in which they construct the meaning of citizenship. Given the importance of this reflection, I mention some opinions given by one female student who grew up in a country of Europe, two boys who grew up in Santiago de Chile and one male student whose family has always been involved in the demands for vindication made by the indigenous groups in Chile.

The Chilean student who was raised in a country in Europe shows on her opinions an emphasis on different issues of citizenship and being a citizen. One can reflect on to what extent a national and local context and a particular education system shape opinions and understandings of citizenship. Also, one can make several comparisons between what students from different backgrounds opine. In her definition of citizenship, she was

focused on the importance of living in a certain city in which a person establishes relationships with others to help and be helped. By 'to help' and 'being helped' she meant the importance of having the support from others and public services and organisations when people face problems and difficulties. She did not mention a characteristic related to a 'legal' status, and it could be seen through the development of the FGD session that she always highlighted that citizenship has to do with a commitment to a city/community/country and to others rather than having some legal status. This student mentioned several times that she experienced discrimination for being a foreigner. However, she thinks that she had always been a citizen even when her classmates at that time did not agree with this and discriminated her for not being 'European' citizen. In summary, she linked the notion of citizenship with contributions a person makes to a community.

I have always been a citizen, even when there are things I can't do in society. I was contributing to the city in which I was living.  
(Carlota, PFBS)

The two students interviewed who were raised in Santiago, one from the PFBS and the other one from the PSS, have similar opinions in terms that citizenship as a concept is more related to an engagement of citizens to a particular community. They point out that the characteristics of the city in which they live now allow people to establish closer relationships with others, and this encourages a commitment to a community. These two students compare some of their experiences in the capital (large city) with those they live in a small town. Values of closeness, honesty and quietness they experience in the present are expressed in their views of citizenship. Their definitions of the concept are related to the importance of maintaining and contributing to improving the quality of life in the city.

I think citizenship is a set of rules that people must fulfil to live in cities and communities, to have a peaceful coexistence. It is easier in this city than in Santiago to live in peace with others. (David, PFBS)

In relation to the student whose family is actively involved in the indigenous demands to the state of Chile, he highly values citizenship as a condition that all Chileans and non-Chileans living in the country have the right to entitle. He refers to Mapuche groups as non-Chileans who consider themselves as people from a different nation. This student mentioned how some 'Mapuches' have systematically being discriminated, but they have

gained some of the demands they are fighting for, and that is because citizenship implies to demand solutions to their problems.

We should learn a lot about the rights of indigenous people; we talked too much about the French Revolution and things that have happened in Chile. But I remember that we read about Evo Morales, that was good. We should know more about Mapuches, they have been fighting for their rights, the Chileans have not respected them. (Jorge, PSS)

On what students from both schools think about definitions of a citizen, as already mentioned, they tend to refer to both concepts, citizenship and citizen, on their opinions, i.e. it seems that they take them as synonymous. When deepening on their views it is possible to make classifications that allow a clearer understanding of what their views are and the relationships they establish between concepts. One example of these relationships is that in general students define citizenship regarding what they think a 'good citizen' should do and how s/he should behave. Similarly, when they give opinions of what a citizen is, they connect these ideas to practices of citizenship.

In the definitions of 'citizen', a substantial proportion of students from both schools alludes, like in the views of citizenship, to a legal status and belonging to a country/community. In accordance to what I already mentioned, their views of a citizen are related to concepts of what a 'good' citizen is, and this is mainly shown by participation in political and social spaces within the society. The ways in which they understand participation is one in which individuals demonstrate a commitment to the responsibility of electing the authorities at the national and local levels. As the registration to vote is given to all Chileans when they turn 18, and the actual process of voting is voluntary, for students, it is an expression of being a 'good' citizen to participate in all kind of elections. Committed citizens make good decisions that will benefit themselves and others and give their opinions whenever they have the responsibility to do this. These two issues can be considered as social participation. Along with the political and social participation, good citizens are committed to their communities to improve them, to help those in social need and overall, to make a country a better one.

From the views shared by students from both schools, any individual who was born in Chile has the right to be a citizen; also s/he has to be 18 years of age. A few opinions show a slightly different understanding: a citizen is any individual who lives in a given

country, even if s/he is not 'Chilean', because all people can make at least a little contribution to the local context in which they live. Although 'citizen' is understood not only within the framework of a legal status, the mere possibility of contributing to the welfare of society is not enough to meet the aspects that characterise a citizen. These views were expressed by a few students from the PSS and two students from the PFBS.

An important issue discussed with all participants was what dimensions or aspects should be considered to define who a citizen is. As already mentioned, nationality and age are key dimensions. Gender, socioeconomic status and the place of residence should not be considered as aspects of both citizenship and citizen.

Yes, I have always been clear that we are all equal. We do not have that distinction by gender, or ethnic or social status, or anything like that. We are all equal because we are all people. (Marcela, PFBS)

Gender should not be considered to define citizenship because women and men are equal. (Mariana, PSS)

In which there is also consensus among participants is that foreigners have the right to become citizens if they meet the requirement of having lived in Chile a long time and not having criminal records. In this sense, any individual who has committed crimes should not be considered as a citizen. One student who was raised in the capital of Chile and witnessed how some foreigners committed various offences there thinks that these problems should be taken into account in qualifying what it means to be a citizen. This student pointed out that he was not discriminating foreigners because on his opinion anyone with criminal records has no rights of being a citizen, regardless nationality.

I saw some foreigners committing crimes, especially pickpockets. I don't want to discriminate them, because I wouldn't like if I go to Spain, for example, to be discriminated. If someone doesn't respect the Law should not be considered a citizen. (Jaime, PFBS)

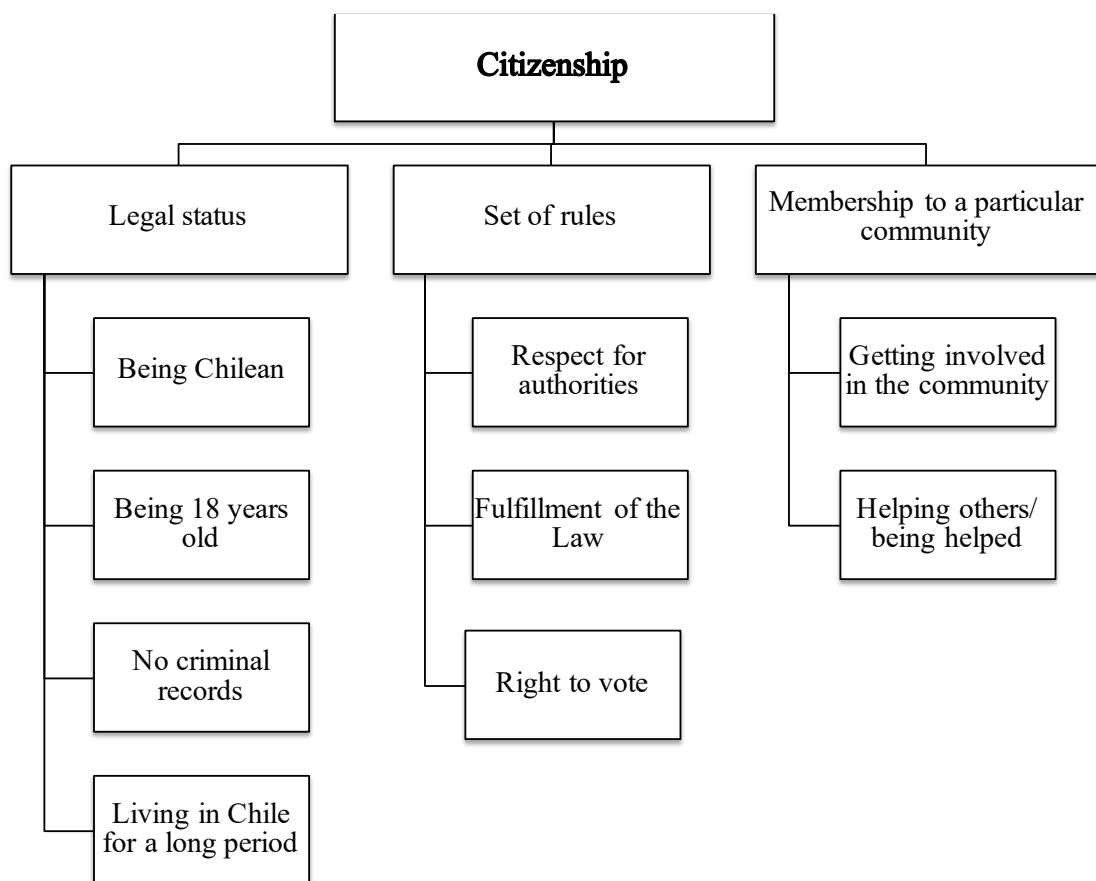
Views of almost all students from both schools, showed that to be Chilean and to contribute to having a better society are essential dimensions to be considered a citizen. Thus, any individual who is entitled to Chilean nationality is welcome to be part of the community and s/he is expected to help to improve it. Four students (three PFBS and one PSS) thought that being a citizen aligns strictly to a legal status and age.



About the practice of citizenship, students link these practices to the characteristic of being a responsible, kind and good citizen, among others. The main way to exercise it is by voting because this is a right and responsibility as well. As I mentioned earlier, voting in Chile is not compulsory, so the primary way to show commitment to the country is by being responsible for the duty of balloting.

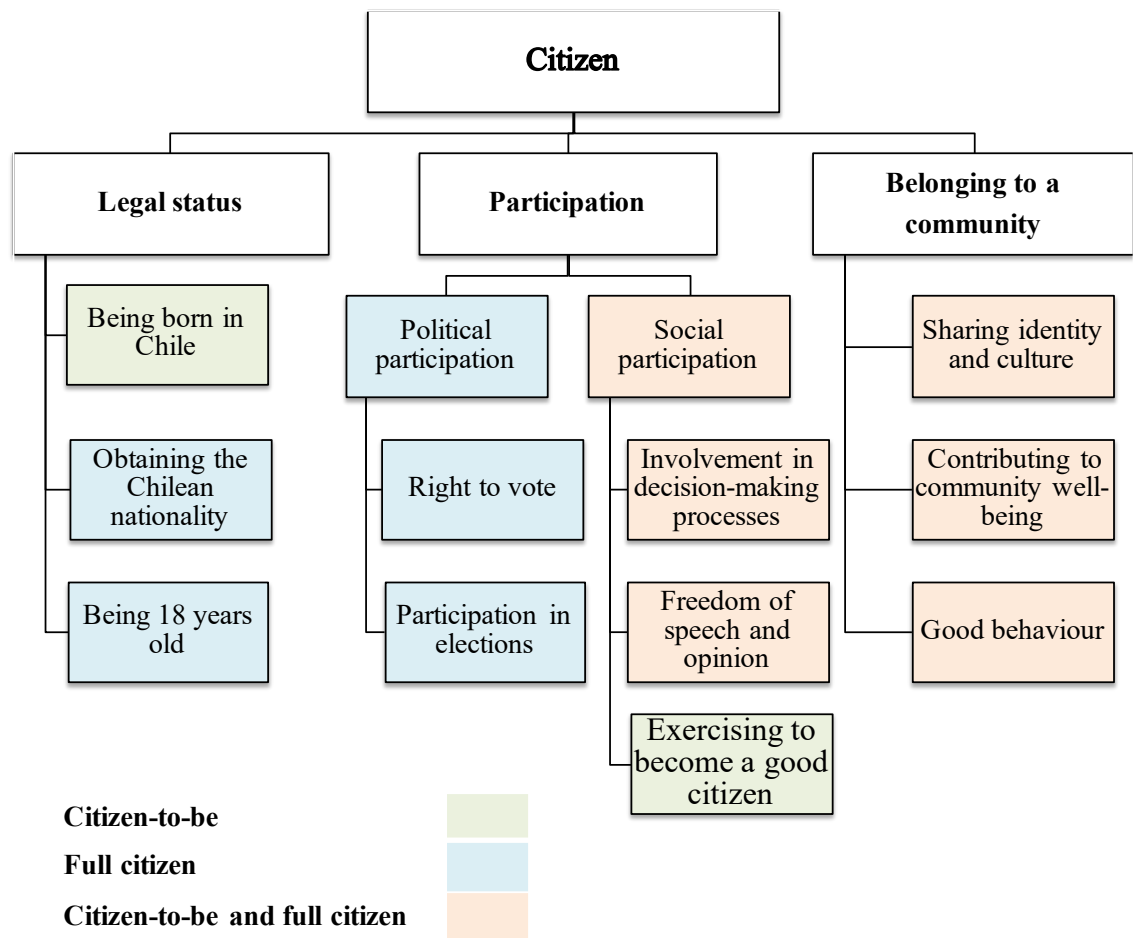
The following figure summarises the different concepts, views and understanding students have about citizenship:

**Figure 6.2 Students' understandings of citizenship**



The following figure summarises the different concepts, views and understanding students have about citizen:

Figure 6.3 Students' understandings of the citizen



## 6.5 Summary

The social actors relevant to this study, those that emerged from the data collected, are the students, families and the local community. The interaction between these categories of people decisively influence students' understandings of citizenship and CE.

One first consideration in this chapter, was the link between identity and citizenship. The curriculum 1998 shows this relationship when it states that the education process contributes to the personal identity of individuals and the complete exercise of citizenship. Identity is constructed in two basic terms, as the competences or skills a person develops to face life, and in relation to the membership of an individual to a national context (country or nation).

First, regarding personal or individual identity, there were different points of views expressed by students about them as citizens. The principal opinions were that an individual will be a citizen when s/he turns 18; on the other side, a student is a citizen in certain ways because s/he is part of communities (school and the local one).

The local context and how identity (individual and community) is constructed and related to citizenship are closely related. Identity is shaped by the lived experiences in the city of residence. Students recognise that there are advantages and disadvantages of living in a small city, which has an impact on their perceptions as citizens. Some advantages are that people develop a deeper understanding of the local culture, live a quiet life, establish close relationships with their families, relatives and neighbours, so they get to know each other more and help those who are in need, and have more opportunities to get involved in activities at the local level. Disadvantages are the fewer opportunities they have to access to certain goods, social and cultural activities, and the lack of institutions to continue studies in tertiary education. Also, a feeling of isolation and the disinterest from authorities towards their needs; they opine their voice is not heard beyond their local context. All these opinions are shared by students from both schools.

Expectations have to do with hopes students themselves, families, school and community have built up with respect of students' future life as individuals and citizens.

There were differences of expectations between the two groups of participants depending on the type of school. Students, teachers and parents from the PFBS converge in the opinion that the primary expectation is students to become 'professionals' (to gain entrance to tertiary education). A good attainment in higher education is the way to contribute to a better society and community, be good citizens and improve socioeconomic status and wellbeing of individuals. This is one of the main reasons for parents to have enrolled their children in the PFBS. Participants from the PSS agreed in the importance of getting access to tertiary education, but there were no specific mentions to contribution or involvement in the community. However, in their views, not all students will have this opportunity, a significant proportion will work once they graduate.

The involvement of students in the community influence the way in which different social actors perceive students as citizens. In the PFBS, the expectations are related to the social responsibility and solidarity students should show as members of a Catholic institution to

contribute to the country (liberal ideologies. From the evidence, students' commitment to community is driven by their identity to the school and its principles rather than to an engagement to the community itself. By contrast, students from the PSS seem to be more involved in local groups and organisations, but the school is not a facilitator for this participation.

In regard to understandings of citizenship, almost all participants define it by explaining what they understand a citizen is and should be. More clarifications of their views came out as they described how citizenship is exercised.

Citizenship is understood to be defined by a legal status (being Chilean, being 18 years old, no criminal records and living in Chile for a long time); a set of rules (respect for authorities, fulfilment of the Law, right to vote); and the membership to a particular community (getting involved in the community, helping others and being helped. About understandings of citizen, the legal status has an emphasis on 'being' (born in Chile, being Chilean and being 18 years old); participation is a dimension of being a citizen, and it is described as political participation (right to vote and participation in election) and social participation (involvement in decision-making processes, freedom of speech, exercising to become a good citizen); and belonging to a community (sharing identity and culture, contributing to community well-being and showing a good behaviour).

The next chapter draws upon the implementation of the CE curriculum and its influence on students' understandings of C and CE.

## **Chapter 7. The Chilean educational curriculum on citizenship education: the implemented curriculum**

### **7.1 Introduction**

This Chapter is a review of how the implemented educational curriculum on CE is related to understandings and views students have developed regarding citizenship and CE. It intends to answer the research question: to what extent students' understandings and practices of citizenship and citizenship education are helped or hindered by the implemented curriculum within selected secondary public-secular and private faith-based schools in Chile?

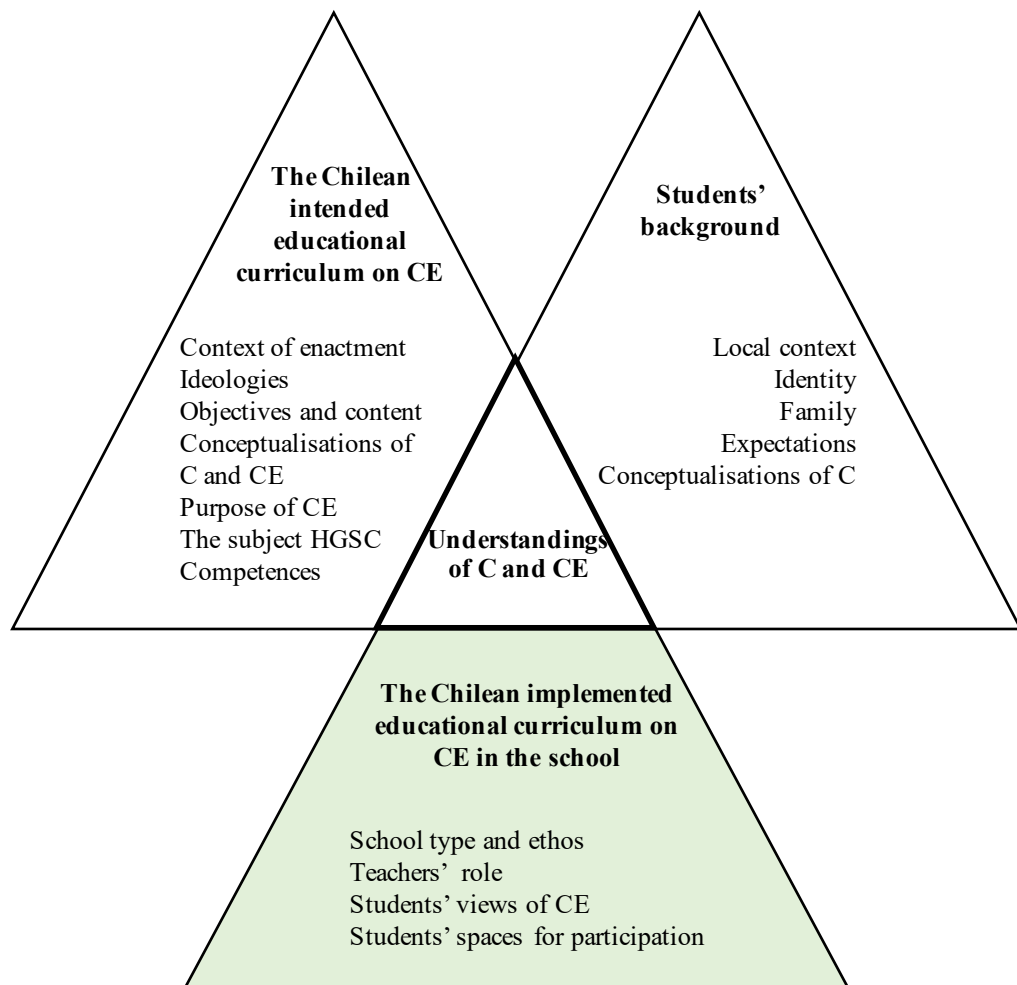
As it is argued in this study, the school is a place where students can exercise their citizenship. It can provide space for them to engage in activities and practices that promote or hinder the notion of citizenship, which depends on several factors such as the type of school (secular and faith-based) and its ethos; teachers' role in the delivery of CE; students' views of CE; and students' spaces for participation promoted by the school.

The analysis and reflection just explained is summarised in the figure 7.1.

### **7.2 The experience of citizenship in relation to the type of school students attend**

The school plays a crucial role in helping or hindering the development of concepts and practices of citizenship and on facilitating citizenship education in the school. To reflect on these issues, opinions about the school they attend were discussed with participants in the study (its main characteristics, climate, link with families and the local community and classroom climate). Students from the PFBS highlight its 'prestige', status, the good quality of its education and the positive employment and employees-students' relationship. They mention that there are no problems of bullying and aggressiveness within the school, situations that do occur in other schools in the city.

There are no students with bad behaviour like in other schools of the city; there are no "flaites" (offenders) here; a few problems maybe but it's very unlikely to occur in this school. (Ester, PFBS)

**Figure 7.1 The Chilean implemented curriculum on CE in the school**

It is highly valued by them the quality of the infrastructure, the school gym, facilities, furniture and decoration of classrooms and common spaces. From the evidence, there are two issues all students value the most; one is the preparation school provides for them to get entrance into universities. As teacher shares:

This is a school in which teachers believe that students can do it, they know the requirements to study in tertiary education. We have created a tradition that tells that everyone can study; it is about perseverance (Cristóbal, teacher, PFBS).

The second highly valued issue for the participants is that the school is a Catholic one. Students' views are:

This is Catholic school; we are supposed to help others. (Judith, PFBS)

We have opportunities to participate in the community because the pastoral groups encourage us to do this. (Ester, PFBS)

Teachers and parents interviewed share the same opinion; the school is prestigious because it is a religious one. In their views:

This is a school run by the Catholic Church, which has two very strong goals: one is the development of values, and this is accompanied by academic training. The two things go together, and usually, if we have committed parents who align with our educational project, usually we don't need to make many efforts to achieve our academic goals. We support families; we create expectations, most of our students continue higher education studies, and that makes many people want to enrol their children in our school. (Cristobal, teacher, PFBS)

The school has a Christian responsibility; that is why it organises several activities during the year, especially with parents to encourage our commitment. (Elisa, parent, PFBS)

From the views expressed by participants, it can be argued that there is a strong sense of belonging to the school. This is shown in the way they describe the school environment, which is 'a good one', with closeness and trust between teachers, staff and students, with clear rules, respect and commitment from all the community school. As some participants express:

You can trust your colleagues; that is one of the reasons why I like to work in this school. (Miguel, teacher, PFBS)

Concerning opinions' participants have of the PSS, most students express that even when it is not the best institution in the city, at least it offers acceptable quality in education. There are a few good teachers, but others teach in a too traditional way. Some of them said their families would not have been able to pay private school fees. It gives students opportunities to start a technical career or to get a good job once they graduate. Participants agree that there is a small number of students who get the score required to study in top universities.

In students' opinions, there are some behavioural problems in the school and also, lack of commitment towards the school. By contrast, teachers agreed that students are still very respectful, in words of one of them:

One of the strengths of this school is its students, they still respect each other, they respect me; I like to teach them. (Juan, teacher, PSS)

I do not see any behavioural problem in the school, I mean no big problems, these are students who need a lot of support, some of them come from the most vulnerable population. (Fanny, teacher PSS)

I can argue that one of the explanations for these contradictions between students and teachers' opinions is the shortage of dialogue between them, a situation evidenced through interviews and observations I conducted:

The teacher is a nice person, but he doesn't ask us if we like his class, or our opinions about what he is saying. Some classmates from other courses know him from social groups and they say he's a good chap. (Jaime, PSS)

I don't like the subject of History... because the teacher only gives us questionnaires to answer and he doesn't explain anything. It seems that teachers are in a hurry to cover all topics. (Juanita, PSS)

In the subjects in which citizenship should be taught actually they talk a lot about the French Revolution or the economy in Europe but we don't talk about things happening in Chile and here, in our commune. They are nice people, but how they teach is not interesting. (Jorge, PSS)

As discussed in the previous section, pedagogical strategies are still teacher-centred. From the interviews, it seems to be mutual respect and approval between students and teachers at the personal level but not the spaces to know each other's opinions. Dialogue and debate are skills the curriculum 2009 tries to promote.

From observations, I found out that the school agenda included the compulsory subjects' classes, teachers' meetings, students' council and parents' meetings; however, there were not many scheduled activities in which teachers, staff, families and students could gather together. Also, I planned to interview parents after a session of their council, but only two of them attended the gathering that day. One of its members expressed:

It's always the same, families don't want to commit to our school, you have to chase them. (Violeta, parent, PSS)



Participants' opinions converge in need of infrastructure and facilities improvement because this affects the school enhancement considerably. The parent just cited also opined that it is not only the responsibility of the head teacher to ensure these improvements, but the parents should commit themselves to play a crucial role on this, i.e., they do not actively engage with issues related to the school community.

### **7.3 Teachers' role and experience in the teaching of citizenship**

Head teachers from both schools mentioned that the education curriculum had changed in the last fifteen years. These changes meant that the sequence of citizenship contents in HGSC also changed, resulting in some topics not delivered in 2012 and 2013. Teachers have attended several training sessions on education system reforms, one of them orientated to understanding the new versions of the curriculum. By the time I interviewed teachers from the PFBS, the Regional Office of MINEDUC was organising workshops to discuss the Curriculum Proposal 2013, which intends the teaching on CE in three different subjects. One teacher shared:

The Ministry of Education tries to make teachers participate actively in reforms, mainly in online surveys. Of course, we need more spaces for involvement in these decision-making processes, but we don't have time to attend all workshops they (staff of the Ministry of Education) organise. But at least we are invited, they want to know our opinions on how to improve the curriculum; so we knew some reforms were on the table as a priority. (Miguel, PFBS)

These reforms had not taken place by the time the interviews were conducted. Hence, as teachers interviewed from both schools agreed that they followed the guidance of the documents provided MINEDUC (curriculum, PP and textbooks), it can be assumed that they had mainly taught those contents proposed in the textbook of HGSC.

Teachers play a crucial role in addressing the contents of citizenship and might help or hinder the development of knowledge, skills and attitudes in students. Thus, all reflection about CE has to include how teachers define citizenship and citizen, the ways in which they construct the idea of students as citizens, how they understand CE (issues discussed in previous chapter) and the pedagogical approaches and tools they employ in the delivering of contents, amongst others. This is relevant to establish links between the way

contents are delivered in the classroom and understandings of citizenship and CE students have developed.

For all the teachers interviewed and the head teachers, CE is an idea linked to the teaching of ‘civics’ and the delivery of knowledge. Students from both schools opined that although teachers show to know topics on citizenship and contents are interesting, there is shortage in ‘creativity’ (Catalina, PFBS), ‘too much reading in some lessons’ (Eduardo, PSS) and ‘lack of participation of students when the teacher tries to make us give our opinions’ (Judith, PFBS). Contents were delivered in a way some students qualified as ‘traditional’, meaning that the teacher usually explained contents, most of the time using a data projector, then asked to complete questionnaires from the textbook of HGSC, and sometimes they work in small groups. A few relevant innovations were mentioned such as the utilisation of conceptual maps and media resources. The teacher of the optional subject of ‘Social Sciences’ and one teacher from the PFBS were mentioned as more creative.

One student pointed out: ‘If HGSC is the only subject in which citizenship is taught it should include more practical activities’ (Marcela, PFBS). Despite the absence of innovative and participatory pedagogical strategies, students highly value teachers’ commitment to teaching (Jorge, Franco, PSS), ‘the possibility of asking questions as many times as it is needed’ (Ester, PFBS), ‘the effort the teacher makes in each class when he is talking about some situation in the past to link that with some issues in the present’ (Alex, David, PFBS).

One statement can be made from the evidence: most students do not relate their understandings of citizenship with contents on CE they have been taught, an issue that might have several explanations. One of them is teachers’ preparation. Cox (2011) argues that teachers’ training is still focused on the coverage of certain contents rather than on the quality of education. This situation hinders the efficient implementation of the curriculum framework in schools. As it has been said in the previous chapter, the curriculum 2009 promotes active learning and student-centred teaching practices. As Zúñiga et al. (2015, 97) affirm ‘many of the teaching practices associated with the framework are unfamiliar to teachers’.

For a responsible civic attitude, as it is advocated in the curriculum 2009 for HGSC, students need to develop several skills such as the recognition of different points of view and debate, argumentation, accuracy in thinking, managing of information, localisation, research, interpretation, empathy and commitment to problem-solving. Teachers should facilitate the development of these skills by implementing innovative strategies within the classroom. The curriculum in HGSC states that students should be encouraged to work with different sources of information (MINEDUC, 2009, 3, 24) but several students' views suggest that lessons have been developed in a 'normal' and 'traditional' way (Ema, Daniel and David, PFBS; Mariana, Juanita, Eleanor, Franco, Jaime and Carlos, PSS), meaning that classes were lacking in practical activities and the use of several sources and resources to develop ideas and engage in debate. This is consistent with what I observed in lessons of HGSC: teachers delivering contents, writing on the board, requesting students to answer questions in the textbook and questioning them a few times. What almost all students from both schools describe as 'positive' are those teachers' practices of connecting issues from the past to the present while delivering contents related to citizenship. However, I can argue that students should be encouraged to interpret contents by themselves through activities facilitated by teachers. As mentioned before, the curriculum 2009 promotes skills of acceptance of diverse points of view and debate. Activities for discussion were not developed during class observations nor students debated with each other in the FGD.

Another explanation for the lack of a link between contents on CE and concepts of citizenship is the understanding of HGSC as only a compulsory subject students have to approve to graduate and not as an opportunity to develop and practice citizenship. All teachers interviewed expressed they decided to become teachers by vocation, they define themselves as professionals demonstrating their aptitude to teach. They agree that even when students show interest in contents on CE being taught in the classroom, in the end, they do not value this as contents will help an individual to be a more responsible citizen; it is a subject they have to approve to graduate.

If I don't do my best to show them the importance of these contents, then they will keep this wrong perception that it's something they need to memorise before tests; otherwise, you can fail a grade. (Fanny, teacher, PSS)

Also, they opined that in general students are respectful and committed. However, youth apathy towards several social and political situations is a problem of the current national context that, unfortunately, can be seen in students' attitudes at school:

The spaces for participation and dialogue are open. However, there is little participation; it is observed, let's say, in the fact that there is no substantive commitment...We lack a dynamic that allows us to see a machine that is moving with enough agility. (Santiago, PSS head teacher)

Citizenship content should be resumed because the governments of today are facing the problem of abstention in elections, indifference on the part of young people to everything that has to do with politics. (Juan, teacher, PSS)

The way/s in which teachers have implemented the curriculum on CE can be linked to what was previously discussed about the approaches to teaching History. In the Chilean educational context, the great tradition has been the pedagogical tool to deliver the subject of History (Zúñiga et al., 2015). It has been characterised by teacher-centred practices, story-telling and memorisation of historical dates and facts in chronological order; students are recipients of the contents taught.

The curriculum 1998 was enacted taking into account the need for an approach shift that promotes student-centred pedagogical practices and active learning. This aligns with what Husbands et al. (2007) states: students should be encouraged to build historical knowledge through inquiry and interpretation of historical sources. From the evidence, it can be argued that some practices within the classroom are consistent to what the new history approach intends, i.e., some students from both schools recognise to have been encouraged to learn by using different pedagogical strategies (team-work, documents review, group discussion). However, most students describe teaching practices in a way that aligns with the 'great tradition' approach. A more critical approach is embedded in the curriculum 2009, but these pedagogical practices, which are related more to a 'new history' approach, are taking into account in PP from 2014.

As it has been explained in the Methodology Chapter, I decided to interview the teacher of the Optional Subject on Social Sciences and National Reality (CSRN) from the PSS. This teacher decided to not use the syllabus given by MINEDUC, but to adapt it to include contents on voting, citizen responsibility towards political elections, political parties and responsible citizens' behaviour and decision-making. Therefore, the role played by her

was crucial for the acquisition of the knowledge students needed to face the approaching presidential election in Chile.

The subject CSRN can be chosen by students registered under the standard plan (Scientific-Humanist) but not by students doing the Technical option, so three students were receiving more detailed contents on citizenship. These students agreed that it is positive that classes have included topics on the history of political elections in Chile, the process of voting, political parties, among others. In words of the teacher:

I wanted to cover these topics in politics, voting and elections, we have to elect a new President of Chile this year, most of the students will be of full age by October, so I would like them to know what voting means. These topics are not included in the program for this year, but we are encouraged to be flexible, right? So, I adapted the program to what students need. (Fanny, teacher, PSS)

In the view of students, classes have been engaging and participatory because the teacher uses audio-visual technology and different textbooks. In classroom observations, I saw lessons that encouraged teamwork. Students were grouped into four or five to discuss a text provided by the teacher and to present their analysis to their classmates. The topic was about political parties in Chile and participation of citizens in electing authorities. Media and presentation in PowerPoint were also used. From the evidence, I argue that these particular students established relationships between concepts of voting, participation in a political community covered in CSRN and definitions of citizenship and citizen.

To finish this section, I present a short section aimed at summarising teachers' opinions about the Proposal 2013 to be implemented in the near future. As I already explained, they had the opportunity to participate in workshops run by MINEDUC. The main opinions were:

- The initiative of encouraging the teaching of citizenship is valued as 'positive'. Students need the knowledge and experience to become more responsible people and specially to act critically in society.
- There is concern about non-specialised teachers working these topics. One interviewee mentioned that during one of the workshops he attended, teachers of HGSC opined that it could be counter-productive to allow someone not well trained on citizenship topics to

teach them. As he expresses: ‘...as a teacher of HGSC I have the knowledge and expertise to teach these topics, but not all my colleagues. If there is no a particular subject for citizenship, then it is evident that it should be covered in HGSC’. (Miguel, teacher, PFBS)

- Therefore, it is needed to train more teachers of other subjects specifically on citizenship knowledge. MINEDUC, in teachers’ opinions, has to invest more resources in training if it is expecting to improve CE in schools.

- Time constraints are mentioned in two ways. Concerning a training process on CE, it takes time to get well-trained in the matter, and it implies to attend several workshops. Teachers usually struggle with time constraints as their responsibilities include lessons planning, teaching in the classroom, meetings with the school staff and colleagues, attending parents and guardians, continuous training in their own fields, among others. Also, teachers find it difficult to cover all subjects’ contents throughout the year. Their concern was that they were adapting PP proposed by MINEDUC, slightly changing them as due to workload there was no time to create their own ones. The Proposal 2013 would imply the need for more time spent on the design of specific PP. An opinion of the teacher explains this time constraint:

For practical reasons, I would prefer one subject to cover contents on citizenship. Because when we talk about teaching contents in more than one subject, you have to trust your colleague. Several times s/he does not have time to cover all that is written in the curriculum and PP; if s/he finds the time by the end of the year s/he will organise a few activities to teach citizenship. (Miguel, teacher, PFBS)

Teachers from the PSS had not participated in the workshops mentioned above when I interviewed them. However, they shared similar opinions to that of their colleagues. CE should be considered as a particular subject, with a focus on civics and knowledge on political participation. Teachers from the PSS think that a new Proposal on CE will help students to learn more about citizenship, but it would be difficult to coordinate all the different contents to be taught, specifically regarding the design of PP.

Students’ opinions regarding CE converge with what teachers comprehend about CE in terms of being a defined syllabus/subject to be included in the curriculum. Their views on how CE is developed within the school is discussed in the following section.

#### 7.4 Students' views of citizenship education

Citizenship education is not considered a practice for both policy-makers and teachers. It is mentioned as a desirable goal, value and a set of contents in the various curriculum analysed. This is the way in which is understood by students, as a group of topics and contents they should learn throughout the years of formal education.

In both schools, there was a lack of teaching of citizenship contents due to the already mentioned disjoint between several curriculum documents. It is important to recall one of the quotes shared by one teacher:

I have taught topics, yes. The problem is that even when these seem to be engaging for students, they have been superficially covered...If topics haven't been systematically covered, students hardly will understand them. (Juan, teacher PSS)

The study mentioned in Chapter 5 about classroom assessment shows that until 2005, a significant amount of contents of HGSC and CE was not covered in secondary schools, situation even worse in grade 12 (MINEDUC, 2006). For this reason, the 'Curriculum and Assessment Unit' of MINEDUC reviewed and changed some themes to be taught in each grade, which is shown in the curriculum Update 2009. However, PP were not updated until 2014.

Although contents of citizenship were not delivered as it was intended, it is possible to state that the type of CE being implemented is a combination of several approaches. The character/behaviour approach is present in contents and discourse that focus on students' character, values and behaviours. Teachers, especially from the PFBS, mentioned that they intend to help students to be 'good citizens' and to behave well in society. This is an emphasis shared by students as for them topics of citizenship would help them to be more responsible individuals. The participatory/communitarian approach is embedded in the emphasis on national democracy and democratic practices within the classroom, with particular reference to students' council and weekly meeting to discuss school issues. The approach to social justice and human rights is evidenced in human rights topics covered during 2013.

As an introduction to the topic of subjects in which citizenship themes are embedded, I asked participants their views on the term 'curriculum'; it appears not to be familiar for most students as they said not to have even heard the word. Furthermore, they did not

mention any document that might guide the education process, organisation of schools and what is taught in the classroom. They only refer to textbooks as the main formal source from which they get the information and contents they are required to learn.

With reference to syllabus in which they have been taught contents of citizenship:

- HGSC: international politics, a few concepts of the citizen, right to give opinions, labour rights of women. Most students from both schools identify this subject as the main one in which topics have been taught.
- Philosophy and Psychology: one student from the PFBS mentions that she remembers to have learned definitions of values.
- Language: one student from the PFBS shares that the Declaration of Human Rights was used for a reading comprehension exercise.
- Technology (elective subject): how to use public services' platforms online such as SERNAC (National Service for Consumers) and other public platforms. One student from the PFBS highlighted that people should learn how to use several platforms online which may help them to exercise their rights.
- The elective (optional) subject in Social Sciences: three students from the PSS, who are taking this course, identified several contents on citizenship being taught such as human rights, concepts of citizenship, voting and political elections in Chile during 2013. More details about this specific subject are developed in the following section of this chapter.

From the analysis of interviews, for the majority of students from both schools, CE should provide knowledge on voting, good civic behaviour, rights, responsibilities and duties and good social behaviour. This time, students from the PSS provided responses that covered several issues of CE; one reason might have been that their participation in the FGD influenced their views, matters that were explained in the methodology chapter. One student said:

I had time to think a lot about this thing of citizenship education, and yes, we have learned several things, but we don't have a subject to learn that, the teachers of History have talked about a few things, voting for example. (Jorge, PSS)

I did like the meeting (FGD) because we learn from our classmates. I remember now teachers explaining the governments in Chile and how that is similar to things happening nowadays. (Eleonor, PSS)



Overall, politics is in the views of students the main topic that should be taught. The second one emphasised is the development of civic attitudes, which they understand mainly as a community engagement, meaning ‘citizens help others’ and to be ‘good citizens’ which they understand as showing a good behaviour in society. As already discussed, there is a strong sense of belonging to the city and its inhabitants; thus, they help each other.

My parents had civics education at school; my opinion is that civics shouldn’t have been withdrawn from the curriculum, to learn politics and civic topics is very important to us to exercise as citizens after graduating from school. (Judith, PFBS)

Citizenship education should include values, behaviour and the law; we need basic knowledge about laws and politics. (Franco, PSS)

Even though most students from both schools agreed that they had received contents related to citizenship, it is important to mention that two students from the PFBS and three from the PSS said they had not received contents on citizenship during the current year, but some in previous years, especially in grade 11. These students also participated in the FGD in which they identified some topics on citizenship being learned. I asked them the reasons why they think not to have received lessons on the subject. As it happens with the majority of the participants, CE is understood as a particular topic; therefore, in their opinions other subjects do not cover all its contents.

None of the students understands CE as a practice that could be developed in more than one subject in the curriculum and as part of the extracurricular activities. For them, it should be a specific subject within the curriculum and its contents should also be discussed in other subjects to enrich the dialogue and learn the topic from different perspectives but keeping the focus on one particular subject.

I think civic education should not have been withdrawn from the education system. We need that subject; we can learn about citizenship in several subjects, but it is not the same. (Ema, PFBS)

It would be much better to have only one subject to learn about citizenship. But also, we need more contents in History. (Mariana, PSS)

Citizenship should be taught in one subject and the teachers should teach more about political parties and what public servants

do...youth do not know much about it, that affects the political elections. (Mateo, PFBS)

Students and teachers' views on CE converge in several ways. All teachers interviewed agreed that the subject 'Civic Education' should not have been removed from the curriculum because topics on citizenship need a specific subject to cover all its important issues. They also understand that these topics are being covered mainly in the HGSC subject because the curriculum suggests it. It may happen that some contents are discussed in other subjects, but that is not very common in their views.

The Chilean curriculum 2009, as it has been mentioned in the previous chapter, considers citizenship as a desirable result of the education process and a value to be understood by all students (MINEDUC, 2009). Overall, CE should promote the knowledge, abilities and attitudes that a person needs to fully exercise her/his citizenship. From the evidence, students have developed some of these skills and values, which are shown, for example, in their views on the respect for others and the need for solidarity.

I'm a citizen from an ethical point of view, because I try to help others, I participate in the community when I have the chance. (Alex, PFBS)

I think I'm a citizen because I'm interested in what is happening in my country and it is about being in solidarity with others. (Franco, PSS)

Mostly all of them express that what is being learned is through the interaction with their families, by the media and to some extent from the school, i.e. through CE delivered mainly in HGSC:

Basically, I always discuss politics and problems in the country with my family; of course, HGSC lessons have helped me to have some ideas of citizenship, but we need to complement this knowledge with what we hear at home. (Marcela, PFBS).

I have learnt in certain ways, at the school; obviously, it is strengthening my knowledge. But I learn outside the school as well; I'm not in any pre-university programme or anything like that. But I have friends who know a lot, and I take the initiative: I ask them things I don't understand, like politics and philosophy. (Jorge, PSS)

In summary, CE is to some extent being developed in both schools. I reflect on the reasons why students do not make relationships between contents and lived experiences of citizenship in the following section.

### **7.5 Students' views of citizenship education through the subject HGSC**

The discussion about understandings of CE also considers findings from the analysis of the set of questions about students' opinions on the subject HGSC, which is the one that contains topics on citizenship.

As said before, HGSC has an emphasis on promoting CE; thus a reflection is needed on whether students link both concepts. A majority of them from both schools agreed on HGSC as the subject that includes some topics on citizenship but that it is not enough to cover all the contents they need to learn before graduating from secondary school.

Students from the PFBS agree they have learned some topics on citizenship during the current year, such as labour rights of women, rights to protest and give opinions, some rights and duties of citizens, international politics. The evidence suggests that a significant topic absent from the contents being taught was voting, not only during the current year but in the previous one as well.

I remember the teacher talked about the presidential election, but that was when I was in grade 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup>...I think...I don't remember much of what he said. (Ester, PFBS)

We should learn more about politics, and voting; we exercise here in the school because we elect our student president. We have polling stations within the school and we do as it's done in formal voting in the country, that it's what we understand. But we need more knowledge on how to vote outside the school. (Guillermo, PFBS)

As it has been mentioned, the right to vote and the active participation in elections is in the views of participants a main issue to define who a citizen is. Also, the presidential election in Chile was planned for October 2013, in which several students were entitled to vote, as they would be of full age. Therefore, I was expecting them to have received contents on voting and to mention the coming election in the FGD and in-depth

interviews; this did not happen. From the interviews with teachers, I did not find evidence that this topic was to be taught in the following months.

As both teachers interviewed mentioned, next topics to be covered were contemporary Latin-America and Latin-America and Chile today. From the analysis of the HGSC textbooks, other topics covered in grade 12 were the current world context, Chile in a globalised world with emphases on international economic treaties and in human rights. In the previous chapter, it was discussed the contradictions between what the curriculum of HGSC states regarding focus on CE from 2009 and the textbook in which topics are not directly linked to this emphasis. The interviews with students are consistent with the analysis of documents that shows these contradictions; students do not recognise to have received several contents on citizenship.

About the PSS, most students do not identify topics on citizenship being covered by the subject HGSC during the current year. A few students said to remember lessons in which some topics were addressed, but they could not mention specific contents.

Ehhh... I don't know if we have learnt anything about citizenship in History. (Catalina, PSS)

The only thing I remember the teacher explained about citizenship was the presidents in Chile, who they were and years in government; we had to memorise it, nothing else. (Juanita, PSS)

Even when PSS students expressed the lack of contents of citizenship in HGSC, they agreed that the subject is crucial to have knowledge of the nation and voting.

One should learn why Chile is a country with these characteristics; we need to know our history not to repeat same mistakes, for example, to not discriminate indigenous people. There are so many things we need to learn, why one political party is in government and why the other one is not. (Jorge, PSS).

In this example, the student links past and future, which is one of the goals of the curriculum. This student shared more than once in the interview, how his family, grandparents and parents, have been involved in demands of indigenous groups in Chile. It might be that this lived experience influences the way he establishes relationships between past and future and with political decisions that benefit or not aboriginal people in the country.

One of the topics discussed with students and teachers was the opinions on the text of HGSC for grade 12. As already said in the previous chapter, there were three different editorials authorised to publish this textbook to be used in 2013. They are similar in contents and sequence of contents and differ basically in layouts. Main contents related to citizenship are The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, women's rights, indigenous people's rights, social movements and democratic societies, among others. All interviewees recognise to use the textbook very often.

In the case of the PFBS, views are diverse, from students that think it is very useful to others who describe it as a resource with 'too much text and lack of images' (Daniel, PFBS). Some students highly value the textbook because he has learned how to work with one of its tools which are conceptual maps.

I have learnt how to summarise long texts for example. I summarise everything by making conceptual maps, so I can find out more. We are required to make conceptual maps in assessments to compile contents. (Daniel, PFBS)

Mostly all PFBS students opined that the textbook is very useful before assessments because it contains summaries of each unit of contents (Marcela, PFBS). Some students whose areas of interest are politics and social sciences think the textbook should include more content and fewer images, the opposite opinion shares the rest of students. All of them recognise it as the leading guide teachers use in the development of lessons. Even though they agree on the importance of this material, almost none of them could identify more than one specific content on CE embedded in the textbook.

Students from the PSS also identified the textbook as the primary tool used by teachers in each lesson. Opinions differ between interviewees, some of them expressed: 'we use it in each class but only to complete guidelines the teacher provides for us' (Juanita, PSS); 'it contains just a little about Chile, too much about other countries' (Eleonor, PSS). Other students valued it highlighting the contribution the textbook represents to the learning process: 'it's a very useful tool' (Jaime, PSS); 'it is a good summary of important historical issues, especially of indigenous organisations' (Jorge, PSS); 'I like the book, it has a lot of information.... But I haven't read it much' (Mariana, PSS). Part of the topics students identified as related to CE are the history of wars, indigenous rights and organisations and human rights.

In summary, students and teachers from both schools value the textbook for grade 12 as an important tool that helps the teaching and learning of contents on HGSC and CE.

The following section is focused on students' perceptions of participation in relation to the exercise of citizenship beyond what occurs in the classroom through defined subjects.

### **7.6. Students' spaces for participation within the school and the community**

There are substantial differences in the way students perceive the opportunity of studying in their specific school, with students from the PFBS expressing their contentment of being part of it and students from the secular one saying that their school is 'good enough' for them. Also, there is a strong feeling of identity and belonging to the PFBS whereas participants of the PSS seem not to have developed that sense of belonging.

I do like my school my school and class because the climate is very good. I think it is thanks to the values they emphasise. We share a lot with our classmates and teachers; besides the good quality, it is also the school values. (Judith, PFBS)

We are very close to each other in my class, and with other schoolmates, we respect others. The school is very good as well, especially I like its quality and infrastructure. It's cool to be a student here. (Mateo, PFBS)

Recently, I have realised that the school is not preparing me well to study in the university. I used to like it more when I was in grade 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup>, but not very much now. (Carlota, PSS)

My opinion of this school...it depends, the school is quite good, but, how to say it...our teachers are too old, I think they should hire new ones. Its quality has diminished a lot these last years, I don't know if it is because of the teachers or students. I try to have a good relationship with everyone, but you don't see same attitude from everyone in the school. (Carlos, PSS)

Concerning the opportunities that each school provides for students to practice citizenship, participants from both schools differ in their perceptions in several ways. One of the specific opportunities the three versions of the curriculum being analysed in this study promote to exercise citizenship are 'time of free use' and 'students council'. 'Time of free use' refers to the time schools have to develop all those activities proposed by the entire community school in order to achieve the explicit goals of the educational project.

Students council is included in the OFT; it is defined as a space in which students are encouraged to carry out activities to improve communication, dialogue and reflection. Each class must be organised as a 'democratic community' to plan and make decisions orientated to implement projects for the comprehensive development of the human being. One of the outcomes of the students' council should be the development of 'responsible participation in a democratic society' (MINEDUC, 1998, 26). Even when the importance of practices of citizenship is discursively present in these two sections of the curriculum, specific aims and contents of HGSC do not link theories of citizenship to these specific examples or opportunities to exercise citizenship given to schools. However, although the link mentioned is not appointed in the curriculum, both groups of students identify the process of electing their representatives to the students' council as a way to exercise citizenship. Teachers and parents shared this.

We can learn some principles of citizenship within the school such as voting to elect students' leaders and campaigns to help people in need. (Ester, PFBS)

I always vote for the best classmate to be our president in the class. It's important to elect our own council, a way to practice for when we have the chance to vote in national elections. (Eduardo, PSS)

I know the guys vote once a year for their students' council; we are trying to work together with them. (Marta, parent, PSS)

One of the characteristics of citizens shared by students is to make their voice be heard. This is not entirely possible in society as they are not of full age, but students from the PFBS think teachers and staff hear their opinion. This view is considerably opposite to what students from the PSS opine because they believe there is no much communication between them and the community school.

We are not citizens in every sense of the word, but we can practise several things here in the school, for example, we have the chance of giving our opinions to the head teacher in different ways, I mean, that is a good way to learn how to say things to others, when you are an adult you should know how to behave in society. (Mateo, PFBS)

Here in the school, I'm always treated as a making-trouble person, why? Because I say exactly what I think. Even my classmates have got upset more than once. It is still strange to others that one can give opinions, just because we are students, they don't see authority in me. (Jorge, PSS)

With regard to specific opportunities participants identify to practice citizenship and getting involved within the community, interviewees from the PFBS mentioned: meetings with the pastoral group, mass for the school community once a week, ecological group, visiting the nursing home, anniversary of the school, counselling for families, sports championships and vocational workshops for students. All these activities are organised by the school. Most students expressed not to participate in community groups not related to the school.

The picture is significantly opposite in the PSS. Almost all students did not identify distinct spaces within the school to practice citizenship but the election of the students' council. When they were asked if they were participating in groups within the community, several of them said they are members of sports teams, neighbourhood committees, indigenous and church groups. This is contradictory to what one teacher and the head teacher shared in their opinions, in which they mentioned that the school facilitates spaces for students to participate in them, such as the music band of the school, workshops for parents and students from several social and public institutions in different areas such as health and higher education and drugs prevention, among others.

It is also important to reflect on the opinion that one teacher has of practices of citizenship in the PSS. He states that the school gives no opportunities for students, but he knows that students in grade 12 actively participate in the community, for example, in music and folk groups, and especially in the neighbourhood committees:

Here in the city, there is an opportunity for people older than 16 to participate in the decision on how to invest a certain amount of public resources in community-based initiatives, youth initiatives, like buying things to form a folk group, a rock band. Then, representatives of neighbours' committees vote to choose the best community projects; it is called 'participatory budget' and there are several of our students participating in that. I am also a member of the Catholic parish. And there also students attending there. We have invited them to support the church, in our case, it was the construction of a meetinghouse. I know there are other initiatives to provide instruments to folk groups or provide heating to a local headquarters, students get involved in that. (Juan, teacher, PSS)

As it can be seen, students from the PFBS identify school opportunities for the exercise of citizenship and get involved in them, but not in activities organised by the community and social groups. By contrast, most students from the PSS actively participates in the



community but do not recognise that as a practice of citizenship. The school also provides spaces for this practice, but not all students identify them.

One of the goals of the observations I conducted within both schools was to find out whether physical spaces were provided for the meeting of school actors and also, to observe activities developed in schools. In the PFBS, students are encouraged to share their opinions/queries in more than one way: by writing on a sheet they put in a box located in the main area in the school; the staff read that information, grouping it into areas of interest to organise regular meetings between the head teacher and students in order to give response to their queries; schedule for meetings between teachers and students; and a board where students can express encouraging thoughts to others. It was common during my visit to the school to see students sharing with teachers and the staff on their breaks in the main area of the school, which is bright, warm and provides seats. I attended a science fair in the school organised by students from all grades; I saw adults from the local community and students from other schools participating in this fair. This was considered by the organisers as a ‘unique opportunity to open the school doors to others’ (Miguel, teacher, PFBS).

The infrastructure of the PSS is much older than the PFBS (also expressed by participants in interviews and FGD). Thus, the school lacked comfortable spaces where students could spend their spare time (they were often walking on the corridors from one to the other side on their breaks). Small and hidden offices were always occupied by teachers or staff during my visits to the school. However, a space in which I regularly saw students sharing with others was the inspectors’ office. They contacted their inspectors whenever had a requirement. I did not observe any specific way in which students could make their needs and voice known apart from seeking a meeting with a teacher or the school teacher.

Families’ involvement in school activities was another issue discussed with interviewees. The evidence from both schools suggests that there is a lack of household participation in activities run by the school. Main reasons are time constraints as the majority of parents work, the apathy to engage in community and school groups and the lack of interest in taking group responsibilities. However, teachers from the PFBS highly value that even when parents only occasionally participate in school activities, at least they try to visit the school frequently to inquire into their children’s attainment and behaviour. Some responses that sum up their views are:

My family tries to attend concerts the school organises. Also, they become more active for the anniversary of our school. (Marcela, PFBS)

My parents work so they do not have time to come to the school very often, but they manage to speak with my teachers once a month, to know if I am doing it well at school. (Carlota, PSS)

I think that today's families are less responsible in the educational process of their kids, and it has nothing to do with women working full time, or men working full time. I think they are laying aside support, assistance and guidance to children. For example, it's very hard to achieve 100% attendance at the monthly meetings of parents. Or when one calls the parents to work on projects there is no interest; maybe it is a problem of the entire educational context. (María, parent, PFBS)

We are working on some strategies for parents to come to our school to participate in more diverse activities than they might be expected; maybe that could capture their attention. (Santiago, PSS head teacher)

The discussion on families' involvement in the community school was intended to explore whether the school is helping or hindering the link student-families-community. From what almost all participants in this study shared, although schools are taking the initiative and making efforts to engage parents and families more in activities and the improvement of the school, they seem not to respond to this invitation as it has been expected.

## 7.7 Summary

The school plays a crucial role in helping or hindering the development and exercise of citizenship. CE is being implemented in both schools, helping students to exercise citizenship although not all of them identify this. But also, hindering it. This can be seen in pedagogical tools and practices within the school that do not facilitate the recognition of the exercise on citizenship.

Students from the PFBS highlight its 'prestige', the excellent quality of its education, the closeness between teachers, school workers, head teachers and students, the good quality of its infrastructure and the absence of inappropriate behaviour amongst students. There is a strong sense of belonging to the school. With respect to the PSS, participants' views converge that it is not the best institution in the city, but it offers acceptable quality

education. The school is preparing students to get access to the labour market; only a small number of students will the score in the PSU required to continue higher education. In their opinion, there are some behavioural problems in the school, and low commitment towards the school.

Regarding the role and experience of teachers in the teaching of citizenship, it is fundamental in addressing the contents of citizenship and might guide or prevent the development of knowledge, skills and attitudes in students. This section reflected on how teachers define citizenship and citizen, the ways in which they construct the idea of students as citizens and the pedagogical approaches and tools they employ in the delivering of contents, amongst others. This is relevant to establish links between the way contents are taught in the classroom and understandings of citizenship and CE students have developed.

For all the teachers interviewed and the head teachers, CE is an idea linked to the teaching of civics. They had basically taught contents proposed in the textbook of HGSC and in students' opinions, classes have been too traditional, with low level of creativeness. Teachers are aware of the reforms in education and the curriculum to be gradually implemented from 2014. Some issues that do not facilitate the link between knowledge and practices of citizenship are teachers' preparation in citizenship, pedagogical tools used, the misconception of citizenship as a particular subject to be taught and time constraints to cover all topics suggested on the curriculum.

The experience on CE through several subjects was discussed with students. The term curriculum appears to not be familiar for most of them and they recognise the following subjects as those in which they learn about citizenship; HGSC, Philosophy and Psychology, Language, Technology (elective subject) and the elective (optional) subject in Social Sciences.

Students and teachers' views on CE converge in that the subject 'Civic Education' should not have been removed from the curriculum because topics on citizenship need a particular subject to cover all its important issues. The majority of students agreed on HGSC as the subject that includes some contents on citizenship, which is crucial to get the knowledge needed for the practice of citizenship.

One last point in this chapter was students' spaces for participation within the school and the community. Both provide these spaces; the PFBS organises meetings with the pastoral group, mass for the school community once a week, ecological group, visiting the nursing home, anniversary of the school, counselling for families, sports championships and vocational workshops for students. Even when students actively participate in these instances, most of them are not participating in community groups. The situation is the opposite in the PSS. Almost all students did not identify distinct spaces within the school to practice citizenship although these are organised by the school. A majority is involved in community groups, but they do not identify them as practices of citizenship.

Having reviewed findings from documents, interviews, observations and FGD, the next chapter is a dialogue between the literature considered in this study, findings and my own reflection as a researcher.

## **Chapter 8. Secondary school students' understandings of citizenship and citizenship education as a lived experience**

### **8.1 Introduction**

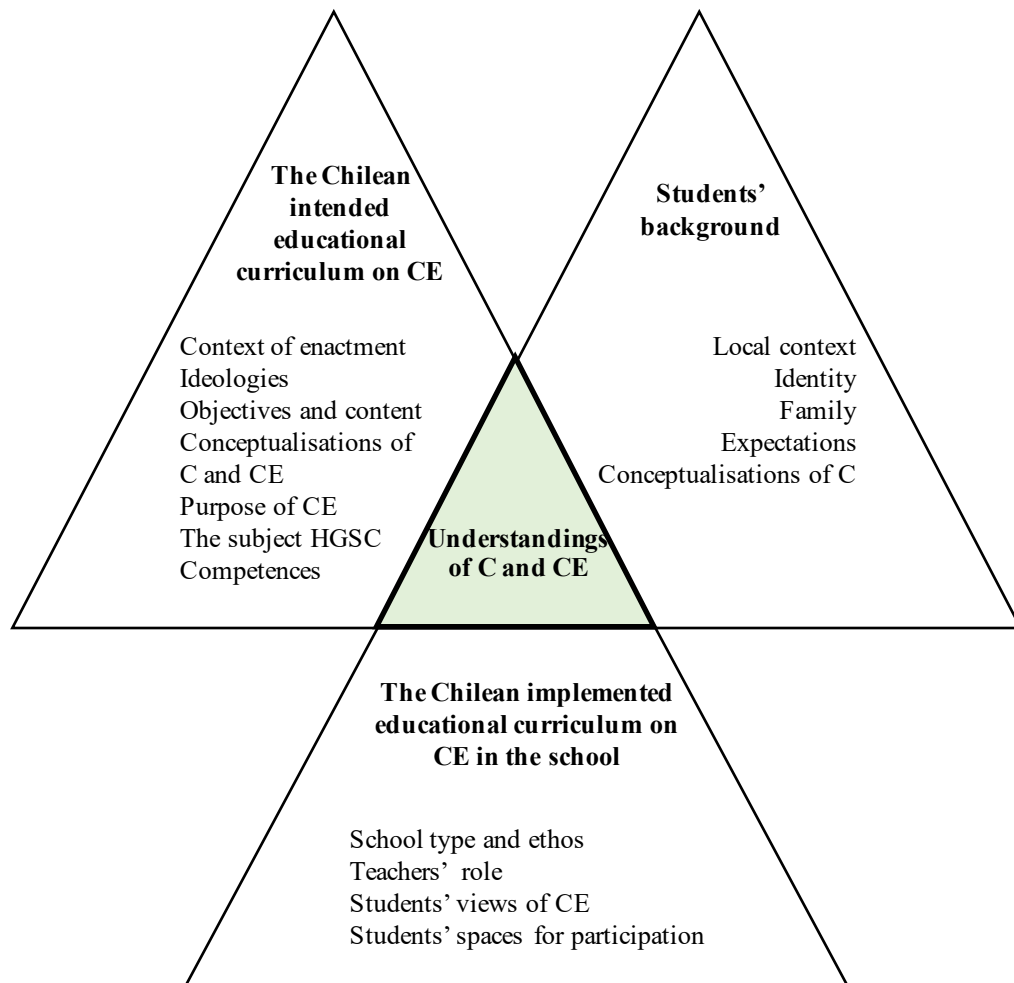
The main findings of this study, discussed in chapters five, six and seven, included analysis of the context of enactment of three versions of the education curriculum and the History, Geography and Social Sciences textbook for grade 12; ideologies, objectives and contents of the curriculum; conceptualisations of citizenship and the citizen; citizenship and its relationship with identity; opinions and understandings of the purpose of citizenship education; the experience of citizenship education through specific curriculum subjects and the experience of citizenship and participation in relation to the type of school students attend.

This chapter aims to develop a dialogue between the literature review, the findings from documents, the data collected and my own reflections. It follows three areas of discussion: a) reflections on the link between the intended and implemented curriculum in Chile; b) secondary school students' experiences of citizenship education; and c) the contribution of the subject History, Geography and Social Sciences to the knowledge and experience of citizenship.

The diagram 8.1 shows understandings of citizenship and CE in Chile through the intersection between the intended curriculum, students' backgrounds and the implemented curriculum on CE.

### **8.2 The intended and implemented curriculum in Chile**

Several reflections can be made on the intended curriculum in Chile as in this study I have analysed several different versions of the education curriculum. These reflections are divided into seven sections: contradictions, ideologies, education as a private good, types of curriculum and types of school, school identities, citizens' participation within the school and the community and teachers' training.

**Figure 8.1 Students' understandings of citizenship and citizenship education**

### 8.2.1 The intended v/s implemented curriculum: contradictions

The intended curriculum has to move from policy document to the operational or implemented curriculum, i.e. what occurs in the school and classroom. This is not a linear process but one that is influenced by several issues (Atkin and Black, 2003; McGee and Penlington, 2001; Hargreaves and Fullan, 1992). The implementation of the curriculum occurs as the result of an interaction between what is stated in policy documents and the various interpretations made by several other documents (such as textbooks) and educational actors (Knapp, 2002). Intentions and interpretations might coincide, especially when participants share common understandings of concepts and ideas being taught (Hume and Coll, 2010). However, some factors might hinder the implementation

of the intended curriculum, such as the gap between theory and practice, the lack of consistency in the curriculum contents and other educational policy documents, and the lack of appropriate training of teachers.

Various examples have been mentioned in this study regarding what can be called gaps between theory and practice. This is in keeping with whatSizer (1999) observes: what teachers teach and what students learn are almost always two quite different things. In this study, the review of three versions of the curriculum shows that as it has travelled from dictatorship to a democratic scenario it contains contradictions because of the constant disputes between social, political and educational groups in the country.

The curriculum reflects the ideologies of groups that have held power in Chile: liberals, republicans/conservatives, neoliberals and adherents to human capital theories. The discourse seems to have changed, from one more conservative to one more global and cosmopolitan, but objectives and contents of the three versions analysed remain similar to each other. New pedagogical tools have been emphasised in the Curriculum Update 2009 and Proposal Bases 2013, but this is an implementation that will take time, especially because teachers need the appropriate training to acquire new teaching skills. Unfortunately, a disjoint in the set of curriculum documents has put students in grade 12 in a disadvantaged situation, as they did not receive all the contents intended for citizenship. Therefore, there are gaps between what students understand about citizenship (knowledge) and the ways they practise it. Furthermore, they do not identify the actual exercise of citizenship (they are experiencing citizenship in real life) with the content learned in the different subjects that contain topics in the matter (HGSC, Philosophy and Psychology, and Language).

The question is how the intended curriculum could help or guide students to link what is implemented in the classroom to their practices of citizenship and recognise these practices as the knowledge they have already learned. This knowledge, skills and abilities have been learned, first, throughout their lifetime; and second, as a result of what the education system intends; but mainly, they have lived experience of citizenship within the context of school and in their involvement in the local community. This is what is called the hidden curriculum; those aspects not explicit in the curriculum as an official document. It is about the unspoken or implicit academic, social, and cultural messages that are communicated to students while they are in school (Abbott, 2014). One response

is a curriculum that links theories and ideologies guiding its design and a discourse emphasising the current practices of citizenship.

One of the main issues around the intended curriculum that came out in the analysis of documents is that the different documents that should articulate the teaching of the contents of HGSC, therefore of CE, are disjointed within themselves. The continuous reform in education since the return to democracy in Chile in 1990 has seen one curriculum and two updates enacted (1998, 2005 and 2009) and one new curriculum proposal (2013) being designed and implemented. At least two large student mobilisations have occurred (2006 and 2011) and a new General Law of Education has been approved. Understandably, it could have been a lack of coordination between different departments of MINEDUC regarding the design and enactment of education documents such as 'Plans and Programmes' and textbooks. As Espinoza (2014, 2) explains:

Although the curriculum reform of the '90s is carried out in a continuity line (under the same law, with the same institutionality and structure of the system, and with the same curricular structure), when analysing the specific content of the curricular documents, a certain discontinuity is evidenced due to several reasons; the most obvious is the production contexts, since the curricular documents were generated at different times, by different teams and under different administrations.

As teachers interviewed expressed, there were contents of citizenship they did not deliver as the curriculum changed, thus the sequence of contents. This means that students who were in grade 12 in 2013 did not receive some citizenship content they were supposed to learn before graduating from secondary education.

Another issue discussed in this study that might influence the way in which the intended curriculum is implemented is the Plan and Programmes, which are guidelines to deliver the contents of school subjects. Educational institutions have the opportunity to adapt the curriculum proposed by MINEDUC in order to maximise those characteristics that make a particular school different from others, resulting in a more meaningful learning outcome for students. It can be discussed why the two cases in this study prefer to apply PP exactly as proposed by MINEDUC. One of the reasons is time constraints as teachers have to respond to several demands within the school, such as planning of lessons, meeting with parents, headteacher activities, workshops, training sessions, etc. (MINEDUC, 2009; Zúñiga, et al. 2015). Teachers are supposed to be actively involved in designing PP, but



due to workload they are not able to allocate time to doing this. Other reasons might be the lack of appropriate training in the design of education projects and not up-to-date knowledge of the topics to be covered. This has implications for the implementation of the curriculum and, in particular, for a quality and effective CE as the school is missing the opportunity to adapt PP in the area of CE to the context in which students live.

### **8.2.2 How ideologies shape the educational curriculum**

In reviewing the curriculum and literature of CE with particular regards to Chile one can argue that the discourse embedded in the curriculum reflects the ideologies, thoughts and beliefs of those actors involved in its enactment. In this study, the main ideologies are conservative/republican, liberal, neoliberal and human capital, with more emphasis on critical pedagogy theories in the Curriculum Proposal 2013. As Cox (2006) points out, the curriculum is highly politicised, so it will privilege some groups, especially those that wield power, over others; curriculum content (and the curriculum itself) is selective, contestable, ideological, dynamic and constantly changing.

Some of the main issues about the views of citizenship and citizen embedded in the three versions of the curriculum that reflect the influence of certain socio-political groups in Chile are the concepts of citizen and, the individual dimension of citizenship.

The three versions of the curriculum being analysed promote the idea of a citizen who can be formed as a good person, responsible for their life, engaged in their community and country; an individual who is able to understand the globalised world in which they live, who respects the national identity, institutions, the human rights, contributes to the growth and development of the country, and overall, is a subject entitled of rights and responsibilities. All these emphases construct a discourse that can be linked to different ideologies such as conservative, liberal, neoliberal, and on a smaller scale, communitarian and critical. One can discuss which ideology contributes more to the development of citizenship, but the reflection should be orientated towards how these ideologies help or hinder practices of citizenship or whether there are links between discourse and practice.

The three versions state 'what a citizen should be' but not what a citizen *is*. Students are being taught they will be 'ready to fully exercise their citizenship' once they are 18 years of age. This idea is based on conceptualisations of citizenship from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries about the membership of individuals in a political

community in relation to a nation-state (Bellamy & Palumbo, 2010; Faulks, 2013; Marshall & Bottomore, 1992). The discourse is not saying 'you are already citizens'. Thus, there is a lack of mention of all the personal, family, community resources students already have that contribute to the current practice of citizenship and all those skills, abilities and attitudes they have developed that constitute them as citizens no matter what their age is. In other words, students are being constructed as passive individuals in need of someone, in this case, the education system, which gives them the knowledge to become citizens. However, not as active citizens exercising citizenship. Students should be seen as human beings capable of building or constructing their citizenship in an active way. In other words, students grow themselves as citizens while they practise citizenship.

One of the examples is that 'time of free use' and 'course council' are intended as spaces for the practice of citizenship (MINEDUC, 1998; MINEDUC, 2009; MINEDUC, 2013). However, when reflecting and analysing objectives and contents of HGSC, there is an insufficient link between theories of civic, social, political participation of citizens and specific ways in which citizens are experiencing the practice of citizenship. A discourse that guides students to recognise themselves as citizens who exercise their citizenship, for example through active participation in the time of free use and course council, could change the way they understand what being a citizen means. They also could recognise they have the power to transform situations through decision-making with peer and community groups.

The three versions of the curriculum show an emphasis on the 'individual' dimension of human beings. The discourse is not related to social groups (specifically students) and community groups that are exercising citizenship. This means that the discourse does not align with communitarian and for social justice and human rights citizenship education, which, in theory, are more focused on the group and social dimensions of citizenship. As it has been discussed in the literature review, Yeatman (2007) reflects on the individual dimension of citizenship, arguing that even when it is inherently individual, at the same time to be a citizen means to participate in society. Thus, the educational curriculum discourse should promote all dimensions of citizenship as they are interrelated in social life.

Concepts about own initiative, teamwork, engagement to family, school and community, solving problems, and others, have been present in the Curriculum 1998 and its Update

2009 and more in the Proposal 2013, but it is always from the point of view of 'individuals' developing skills and engaging with others in the process of exercising citizenship, but not of 'groups' of human beings practising it. Groups of people organised to achieve goals that contribute to a better society have more power than individuals trying to change certain situations, especially those 'unequal'.

Groups that historically have held power in Chile that align to conservative and neoliberal ideologies have influenced the design and enactment of the Chilean education curriculum. They are not interested in changing relationships of power and making the society a more egalitarian one; that is why it is better to keep the emphasis on what students 'should be' and not what they are as citizens, to focus the discourse on the individual rather than on social groups exercising citizenship.

### **8.2.3 Education as a 'private good'**

A neoliberal economic model has been established in Chile since the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990), with the consequences still demonstrable today. A market model for education, in which privatisation is essential, has resulted in shortcomings in educational attainment, showing inequalities given by the socio-economic group to which students belong, depending on the type of schools and also, the geographical location of schools (MINEDUC, 2002; Agencia de Calidad de la Educación, 2014). The two schools participating in this study not only are different regarding faith-based and secular type but in the fact that one is private subsidised and the second one is public (or municipalised). This issue results in differences in understandings of a citizen between the two groups of students, from one (PFBS) more orientated to succeed in life through a profession (human capital ideas) to another in which a citizen is conceptualised as someone who is part/member of a community (PPS).

PFBS students' understandings of a citizen are consistent to what Levin (1987a) points out: in this model of private schooling parents can choose where to enrol their children; they will try to 'reap' the many private benefits associated with it as this schooling enhances individual productivity and earnings. PFBS participants over emphasised the education attainment and chances for students to gain entrance to tertiary education as a crucial goal in life. However, the author states that public education serves not only private ends in improving the lives of the children and their families who participate but

it also serves the nation, region, and community by addressing a variety of social needs. In this regard, PSS students highly valued that the school provided an opportunity for them to pursue a technical career or be prepared to work or study once graduating. Their parents could not have afforded a private school, and some of them would not have been accepted because of not meeting the requirements. It is mandatory for public schools to enrol all candidates applying for a place in that school. The PSS is responding to social need for education, particularly of those families that belong to a middle-low socioeconomic status.

Levin (1987b) mentions that privately and publicly sponsored schools in a competitive marketplace will necessarily create a more efficient educational solution by raising student achievement and by providing parental choice in the types of values or pedagogy to which children are exposed. I might not affirm that this competition seems to be beneficial for the education system in Chile, as levels of inequalities are considerably high in the country (OECD, 2010). At the same time, the competitiveness between schools, depending not only on socio-economic status but religious or non-religious adherence, seems to have a negative impact on equality in education, in this case, PSS students' attend their school because they do not have any other chance to study somewhere else. Evidence from the cases in this study suggests that members of the PFBS consider their school as the 'best one in the commune', 'it does not enrol young people who have bad social behaviour' and 'it has a strong sense of identity and good attainment in education'. These 'good' results are the consequence, in their opinions, of the school's values and identity and the commitment of the staff in the running of the school.

Schools are expected to play a major role in contributing to cultural and scientific progress, the defence of the nation, economic growth and full employment for the nation and its regions (Levin, 1987a; MINEDUC, 2009). I would argue that schools, both public and private, should be spaces in which students meet their needs of exercising citizenship and acquiring the knowledge to respond to the challenges of the current local and global scenario. Schools represent areas in which education must be perceived as a social and public good beyond any contribution to the fulfilment of private needs.

#### **8.2.4 Types of curriculum and types of school**

There are different types of schooling system. Therefore, it is relevant to reflect on how the type of school interacts with the curriculum to produce experiences which are different to others. The way schools themselves are positioned in the whole ethos and the experience they give to students help them to get more out of the curriculum. In other words, the curriculum itself is not enough to provide meaningful learning which students could relate to their experiences; one has to keep in mind that it is nested in a certain environment. The curriculum anticipates goals to be achieved; the type of environment (school and community) influences the way in which these goals are reached, making students' experiences more or less rich.

Regarding the specific curriculum on CE, its overarching aim is not to make students pass an exam but guide them to develop as citizens. It is crucial to reflect on what students can take out of the curriculum in their future lives; not only the knowledge, skills, attitudes and competences, but overall, an understanding of themselves as human beings and citizens regardless of any particular condition or situation.

Furthermore, it is also about the process; the process and the outcomes being linked. CE as a set of contents expresses what kind of citizens are expected. One interesting reflection is whether the process of delivering that curriculum in different types of schools creates different outcomes, more diverse 'kinds' of citizens because the processes are different. The way in which the curriculum is implemented, the particular contents delivered, examples and issues teachers use and discuss in their lessons, the activities students carry out within the school, and even the whole structure of the school can shape the way students develop and practise their citizenship (Kerr, 1999b; Leighton, 2012; Lin, 2015). For example, in schools where there is space given to students to exercise their own identity (maybe that is not written in education policy or PP) they have a better appreciation of what it means to belong to a society or system. In this sense, a Catholic school, in this study the PFBS and its ethos, could make the citizenship curriculum more 'alive' because the religious discourse influences processes that boost community engagement, caring for others, and stronger identity, among others, all emphases expressed by participants. As Bryk et al. (1993) points out, 'faith-based schools should demonstrate that the spiritual, the moral and the social are necessarily interconnected categories'. These related categories make experiences more alive.

The differences in types of school are determined by various factors, one of them is family and neighbourhood incomes. Lin (2015) provides a clarifying example of how this issue influences civic and political participation. He found out that students enrolled in schools located in middle and high-income neighbourhoods may receive more quality opportunities for CE in comparison with those in diverse and urban schools. The ICCS 2009 (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr & Losito, 2010) states that the socio-economic status of parents and families is an aspect that decisively influences student achievement in civic knowledge. In this study, PFBS students showed to have built conceptualisations of citizenship and the citizen which comprise more specific details than PSS students (particular references to the legal and political aspect of citizenship). They recognised their parents' influence on these understandings; most PFBS parents belonged to middle socio-economic status. In the ICCS 2009 just mentioned, the research families' background is defined by factors such as parental occupation, parental involvement in politics and community association. The results demonstrate that students performed better when their parents have higher income, show more interest in politics (both were evidenced in PFBS students' opinions) and participate actively in organisations, a fact not demonstrable in the views of all participants from both schools as they mentioned the low parental participation in school and community activities. In this sense, the role the school plays in boosting families' engagement and involvement in the community is fundamental to improve CE.

It could be argued that not necessarily all faith-based schools, specifically Catholic ones, or schools in high-income areas in certain cities will have better results in terms of CE. I agree with this statement when the school climate is considered as a fundamental factor that influences the interaction between the intended and implemented curriculum. The school climate promotes the well-being of students; a healthy school climate prevents risk behaviours. It allows developing skills and emotional attachment, effective communication, stronger commitment, greater involvement and consolidated, cohesive groups (Cohen, McCabe, Michelli & Pickeral, 2009).

As the topics on CE cannot be covered only by the prescribed syllabus and activities, schools must create spaces for discussion in which students can develop understandings and practices of citizenship in a more meaningful way. A good school climate facilitates these spaces for discussion, incorporating students from different backgrounds, which was more evident in the PFBS. This helps to equalise opportunities between them

regarding access to citizenship topics. Also, the school ethos and climate might help students to feel more attached and committed to their schools. In this study, the PSS lacked the physical space and a schedule to boost teachers-staff-parents-students relationships and interactions. The reflection is whether this absence of spaces is linked to the type of school (secular/private). The OECD (MINEDUC, 2000, 148), states:

Chilean students report stronger feelings of attachment to their schools than their counterparts in the OECD and other Latin American participants...the opportunity and challenge for the schools are to generate a greater emotional and practical commitment of students with their establishment. This would result in a better use of school time and would help performance.

From what was expressed by participants in this study, PFBS students have a stronger attachment to their school, whereas PSS do not show the same attachment but a higher interest in what happens within their local environment. From this, I reflect on whether the school's identity is related to the bond between the school and students.

### **8.2.5 School identity**

One of the issues discussed throughout this study is the particular characteristics of faith-based schools that prompt several authors to state that these types of school have better educational attainment (Cibulka et al., 1982; Grace, 2003). Other scholars, however, argue that even though some factors might contribute to the success of faith-based schools the religious condition of them is not always the explanation for those results (Ipgrave, 2012). Secular schools also show excellence in attainment, depending on several aspects, which I discuss in the following paragraphs. I argue that these issues can be summarised in what builds a particular school's identity.

Within these characteristics mentioned by its head teacher and teachers, which identify the PFBS in this study and boost its excellence, was its openness to everyone who wanted to apply to be enrolled in the school. However, one of the criticisms of faith-based schooling is precisely a lack of pluralism (Vryhof, 2004). All families can ask their children to be enrolled, but there is a process of selection in which it is the staff of the school who will decide who 'is in'; to be a Catholic is a pre-requisite. In order to contribute to a more egalitarian and pluralistic society, faith-based school supporters have to adopt a more culturally generous and open expression of faith-based schooling (Vryhof, 2004). In other words, is not enough to organise activities and invite the community to be

part of them but to build an image of a religious institution that is open to everyone and engaged in the well-being of the inhabitants in the community. To carry out activities aimed at linking students, families, school and community, might contribute to a better receptiveness of the school by society; thus, it facilitates students' involvement in the local space.

In other words, this strong identity based on openness and caring for the community might help students to build their own identity founded in belonging to a school of excellence. However, other efforts have to be made. As Ipgrave (2012, 32) explains, faith-based schools must pursue the idea of the 'rooted cosmopolitan'. This means:

...to be rooted not only in our families, our communities, our values, our faith, our worldview, but we also need to be cosmopolitan, able to relate to and speak with anyone...The kind of citizen needed for the twenty-first century is a person committed to the whole of society, unwilling to wall herself in or others out. Everyone counts.

Debate has arisen regarding the defence some authors make of secular education, arguing that secularism is highly related to cosmopolitanism (Haydon, 1994). For liberal thinkers, religion is a private matter, which has to do with a predominantly individual choice. However, religious thinking constitutes a distinct form of understanding from which no one ought to be excluded. In other words, the religious adherence (or the absence of it) does not necessarily ensure that students would be formed as cosmopolitan citizens. I argue that it depends mainly on the identity of the school, although the specific characteristics of faith-based schools help to achieve this goal. A school discourse that emphasises belonging to a local community and also a global one will contribute to the cosmopolitan identity of students in a context of pluralism and diversity. In this study, almost all PSS students expressed not to be attached to their school but to the city they live in. However, they do not recognise the school as contributing to this bond. The reflection is whether an explanation might be the type of school (secular); most students shared that it was its low-quality education the main reason for them not to be attached to it and the absence of opportunities to make their voice heard by the school staff.

Regarding performance in education, Bryk et. al. (1993) argue that some studies have shown that Catholic schools perform better than non-religious institutions. Reasons might be the characteristics of their students and the backgrounds of families. However, for these



authors these Catholic schools work better than other schools not because they attract better students or because they have more qualified faculty:

In general, these ‘inputs’ or what economists call ‘human capital’ are quite ordinary. Rather, Catholic schools benefit from a network of social relations, characterized by trust, which constitute a form of ‘social capital’. In this regard, voluntary association functions as a facilitating condition. Trust accrues because school participants, both students and faculty, choose to be there. To be sure, voluntary association does not automatically create social capital, but it is harder to develop such capital in its absence. (Bryk et.al., 1993, 315)

In other words, it is a strong social network and the free association of the members of the PFBS that might also contribute to better performance in education. By free association I mean what Bryk et al. (1993) explain: faculty, staff and students voluntarily accept the religious base of the school and respect the moral authority there; the moral authority is necessary because much of what happens in schools involves discretionary action. In some studies (Grace, 2003, Ipgrave, 2012), students’ views converge in that the school is a space in which all of them respect each other; where conflicts are unusual; behaviour of students is a good example for other schools; and the effort made by faculty and parents can be seen in the safe school environment and the excellent infrastructure and furniture of the building. As Bryk et.al. (1993) point out, many potentially contentious issues never develop into conflicts in Catholic schools because communal norms define a broader realm of ‘what is appropriate here.’ In several cases, parents or students who do not like the rules of that school choose another educational institution that meets their expectations. It is common to find out that students still respect the authority of the school because such power depends on the consent of those influenced by it, and it is made possible by the commitment from both teachers and students to a particular school.

In summary, a strong sense of school identity is shaped by more than one factors, such as openness to the community, emphasis on belonging to a local and global community, respect for pluralism, voluntary commitment to the school and the relationship with school authorities, amongst others. I argue that the religious/faith based or non-religious/secular identity of schools should not hinder practices of citizenship. On the contrary, a clear and consistent identity and discourse, either religious or non-religious, allows students to identify themselves as members of the school community and also national and global society. As Griffiths (1998, 66) points out ‘education is concerned

with both individual and collective well-being. It is highly personal and individual, and also highly social, political and public’.

### **8.2.6 Citizens participation within the school and the community**

Faulks (2006) argues that citizenship recognises the dignity of the individual but, at the same time, reaffirms the social context in which the individual acts. Citizenship is, therefore, an excellent example of what Anthony Giddens (1984, 25) has called the ‘duality of structure’. For Giddens:

The individual and the community cannot accurately be understood as opposed and antagonistic ideas. Instead, individual agency and social practices are mutually dependent. Through exercising rights and obligations, individuals reproduce the necessary conditions for citizenship.

In this context, the educational system, throughout the curriculum and the school, should promote an active participation of citizens within the community to reinforce that link needed for citizenship. As Meer and Sever (2004) suggest, participation has been seen as citizenship in practice.

An institutional structure of schools and an educational model designed to provide greater autonomy of decision and action of the individuals facilitates students’ active participation. A larger involvement of students in decision-making processes might help to change power relations within the school (Meer & Sever, 2004). In this sense, Del Valle (2006) suggests that in Chile participatory processes occur in a vertical direction, from the nation-state, which tries to administer and manage citizenship from the legal, legislative and administrative sphere. That is, the logic to encourage citizenship participation is vertical and thought of as something that can and should be imposed, a situation that has affected the context of education. One issue that shows a type of participation just described has to do with what Torres (2001) argues: students have traditionally been the primary group relegated from involvement in the school system, due to factors such as age, social, ethnic and gender conditions. Also, because of misunderstandings about the implications of education and learning for students; the mistaken cultural association between childhood and youth inability to make decisions; and the lack of recognition of students as subjects entitled to be informed, consulted and involved in decision-making processes.

Opportunities to implement projects designed by both school communities in this study, aimed at encouraging participation of students and their involvement in the local community, which is crucial to revert imposed types of participation from the education system. In short, this means a less centralised, vertical participatory space for students and more chances for them to influence decision-making processes at a local level (MINEDUC, 2013; Lin, 2015). As the PSS head teacher expressed, the opportunities are given, students and their families need to be more motivated to get involved in them. Opportunities for participation discussed in this study are: student councils (both schools), sports clubs (both schools), environmental groups (PFBS), music bands (PSS), neighbourhood committees (PSS) and religious groups (both), among others.

The development of citizenship attitudes towards active participation is related to the understanding of today's world. This understanding is facilitated when subjects experience that participation in society, especially when they must make decisions about issues that are of interest (social, political, economic, cultural decisions, etc.). If they have developed skills and abilities, then they are able to use the knowledge they have learned at school, to apply it to daily situations to solve problems. Hopenhayn (1988) states that it is through participatory processes that individuals reflect on their living conditions, with recognition of their weaknesses and strengths. They recognise themselves as subjects with capacities to confront the complexities of the current multicultural, plural and global context; they also recognise abilities in those individuals with whom they share common living spaces.

It is through actual participatory processes that students detect needs that are shared with others. So, they establish relationships with individuals and groups and make plans and projects in common to meet those needs. In this regard, students with concrete experiences of citizenship can present a project, goals and timeframe, and achieve the proposed objectives. The school has helped them to enhance this participation in which projects are developed. Thus, schools serve as mini-polities or public spaces for collective action (Dewey (1916); Lin, 2015), even if these goals are not intended in the curriculum and even more if students do not link theory (knowledge of citizenship) and practice (opportunities for participation within the community).

The strategies used in projects that are driven by the school and the community contribute to students playing the main role in the implementation of those projects. In the example

of the science fair, they identified needs they want to meet; selected and prioritised those needs to be addressed; and defined activities to meet needs. Experiences like this one might help them to understand themselves as subjects responsible for finding the best possible solutions for specific issues. In this sense, when we talk about citizenship it is in reference precisely to individuals who identify themselves as having a set of rights but also responsibilities (MINEDUC, 2004). People give increasing importance to social autonomy and personal fulfilment in decisions. Interpersonal skills, conflict resolution, and group problem-solving skills compound a behaviour developed in a context of engagement of students to the school community (Osterman, 2000). Then, quality CE contributes to the development of individual skills and autonomy because students are provided with tools to develop a critical and self-critical awareness. Students have a strong point of view but, at the same time, the ability to modify and support others in the light of discussion and evidence (MINEDUC, 2004).

Spaces for participation within the school and the community have a close link to what some scholars call civic engagement (Hoge, 2002; Althof & Berkowitz, 2006; Lin 2015). For these authors, CE should promote school-level civic engagement, which refers to addressing problems in the school. As I have discussed, students develop citizenship attitudes while they interact with their peer group and the community, in a process of constant negotiation and active participation to solve problems. In this development of attitudes, the influence of the family background of students is also of fundamental importance. This is because learning achievements and citizenship are the results, in a significant way, of the characteristics of students' family socio-economic background. See (2004) identifies that family history is a key determinant of an individual's attitude to teaching and learning. It is in the context of a family where people receive early socialisation that allows them to configure the various representations of a social life. As all students in this study expressed, their views of citizenship are influenced mainly by their families. PFBS students have developed understandings that align more with the legal aspect of citizenship and the (economic) contribution to the country well-being. Whereas PSS students highlight the relationship between citizenship and the local place where they live. One reason could be that families from the PFBS belong to the middle socioeconomic status and PSS to the middle-low one. The knowledge on different topics, especially political and economic might be richer for PFBS families (Denegri, 2006).

Some studies have shown that the level of involvement of families in spaces promoted by the school is small in several cases (Adeymo, 2006; Cotton & Wikelund, 1989), which is consistent with the evidence from the schools in this study. Reasons have been time constraints due to work, long distances from school which make it difficult for families to attend activities and the attitudes of those who run schools towards families' involvement. Citizenship education must involve the whole school (this includes families, parents and guardians) to make participatory democracy prosper in the classroom and the institution (Reid, Gill & Sears, 2010; Goodall & Vordhaus, 2011). As it is stated in the ICCS International Report 2009 (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon et al., 2010, 31):

The home and family contexts and characteristics that can influence the development of young people's knowledge, competences, and beliefs in civics are many. They include peer group interactions, educational resources in the home, culture, religion, values, and language use. They also include the relationship status of the young person within the family, parental education, income and employment levels, access to different kinds of media, the quality of the connections between school and home, and the range of civic-related opportunities that are available to young people outside of school.

Once the role of schools and families in the implementation of the curriculum has been discussed, the following section considers to what extent teachers' training impacts this implementation.

### **8.2.7 Teachers' training**

This study has considered two basic approaches to the teaching of History (and Geography and Social Sciences): the great tradition and the new history approach (Zúñiga et al., 2015). Most teachers in Chile follow the strategies given by a great tradition approach: teacher-centred activities, with more participation by them in the classroom over students. Althof and Berkowitz (2006) and Husbands et al. (2007) state that teachers often rely on teacher-centred approaches to civic education, in which students focus on learning factual knowledge about government processes. This situation is also shown in CE, in which there is a lack of student-centred activities and an emphasis on politics, laws and nations (Cox, 2006). This situation is consistent with what I observed in classrooms and with what students from both schools shared about the lessons being delivered in a too traditional way. However, efforts are being made to improve lessons by innovation and creativeness (MINEDUC, 2013), although it is necessary to enhance pedagogical

tools, even more, to motivate students to play a primary role in the classroom. If students are expected to explore by themselves through the process of learning, how to be creative, critical and thoughtful, and teachers are encouraged to guide them in this process rather than inducting them into a mould, then several changes have to occur. As Leighton (2012, 33-34) states:

All of this requires planned movement away from traditional classroom activity, away from teacher-led learning, and away from the passive receiving of assumed (or confirmed) truths. Teachers and pupils need to know that the school not only supports and encourages such approaches to learning and development, but that it both insists upon them and provides an ambience within which these things take place as a matter of routine.

It has already been discussed how the role of the school and its ethos, regarding more opportunities for students to participate actively within the school community, is a way to make CE a more lived experience. One factor to achieve this goal is the teacher's ability to adapt the curriculum on CE to students' reality. The Chilean curriculum states that teachers have flexibility in the application of the set of contents proposed (MINEDUC, 2009), but it seems to have insufficient flexibility in adjusting the curriculum framework to particular situations experienced by students, and to the school environment. Some of these issues that hinder curriculum adaptation, and also PP adaptation to the school context (both schools prefer to use MINEDUC PP and not their own ones) are: the amount of content which is too high to be delivered in one academic year; teachers face time constraints due to their workload which does not allow them to commit time to re-scheduling content, lessons, and activities to cover the more relevant topics; and the lack of preparation of teachers as they are not experts on citizenship knowledge.

Studies conducted in other countries like the United Kingdom show that teachers of CE have faced similar situations.

Many schools are now developing collapsed timetable days for the delivery of citizenship and other curriculum areas...(staff) thought the work was too advanced, too challenging and beyond the comprehension and competence of their pupils. (Leighton, 2012, 20)

This is a considerable challenge, particularly as few secondary teachers have the experience or expertise to deliver across the curriculum, and even more particularly when their responsibility now includes a subject – citizenship education – of which many

have little knowledge or experience, and some have little awareness or interest. (Leighton, 2012, 17)

It is in these situations that the ability for adaptation is crucial, to prioritise the content and activities that would better address students' needs. One example that illustrates this point is that even if content on voting is not part of the curriculum, for a particular year in which there are political elections in a country, a PSS teacher modified the chronology of content to cover topics on political elections. This is crucial considering that some students in grade 12 would be old enough to vote in that academic year. Thus, they need the knowledge to participate in this process.

One aspect in which broad changes are needed is the opinion teachers have of themselves. As it was presented in the literature, Leighton has worked on a classification of CE teachers: commitment, conversion, convenience, co-existence, colonisation, compliance, conflict and cynicism. In the case of Chile, as CE has not been a particular subject in recent decades, a parallel can be drawn to teachers of HGSC who are responsible for delivering content on citizenship. As said before, teachers in this study followed a great tradition approach, playing an active role consistent in transmitting historical facts to their students (Sylvester, 1993; Zúñiga et al., 2015). They covered topics on citizenship because it is part of their subject 'History' (convenience); but to cover them creates conflict due to lack of time to cover all lesson content and also, a misconception that students are not interested in citizenship topics or citizenship (cynicism).

In a slow turn to a new history approach in Chile, which in consequence should be used in the teaching of citizenship, pedagogical re-conceptualisations are expected to occur, with more influence from critical pedagogy (Gazmuri, 2013). As Shor (1980) has pointed out, critical pedagogy helps students to understand the deep meaning of content learned, which includes the social, cultural and political context of facts and ideologies and policies that influence those facts. The teacher's role should not be one of transmitting historical knowledge to students but to manage and monitor their learning activities, and encourage self-enquiry, interpretation, historical awareness and the development of citizenship attitudes (Husbands et al., 2007). Thus, new generations of teachers of HGSC, Philosophy and Psychology, and Language and Maths, should be well trained to be able to cover content on citizenship related to their particular disciplines. Following Leighton's (2012) classification of CE teachers, I would expect that with more training and new approaches from critical pedagogy, they would recognise the importance of citizenship

(conversion) and become ‘committed’ to its teaching. As Leighton (2012, 24) also states, ‘all these types of teachers represent individuals who require and deserve support, encouragement and development.’

### **8.3 Secondary school students’ understandings of citizenship education**

After discussing several issues regarding the intended and implemented curriculum, this section focuses on reflecting on how students understand CE and experience the curriculum. It covers conceptualisations of this type of curriculum; students’ concepts, views and opinions of citizenship; citizenship and students’ identity; a discussion about students as global citizens; and the contribution of the subject HGSC to knowledge and experience of citizenship.

#### **8.3.1 The experienced curriculum of citizenship education**

The experienced curriculum is defined by Erickson and Pinnegar (2010, 361) as the responses, engagement and learning of students from the events, people, materials, and social or emotional environment of the classroom. It focuses on the students’ actual learning and is not assessed by an objective or standardised test score. One quote from Sizer (1999, 161) illustrates the difference between the implemented and the experienced curriculum:

What any one teacher actually teaches and what an individual student hears, understands, and remembers are almost always two quite different things.

In this study, CE has been taught as a set of rules (rights and responsibilities) that every citizen should follow or apply. Also, as a set of contents that should be learned in order to pass exams for a particular syllabus or subject. However, CE is about knowledge linked to lived experiences.

In the process of relating knowledge with their experiences, students process the information they have received and from their own perceptions and views to construct their understandings of citizenship. While experiences with classmates are shared, each individual develops their own meanings from them. It is in this sense that the experienced curriculum is relevant as what was prescribed in the curriculum does not always match



the experience. In other cases, students actually learned what was intended and even more, depending on the school ethos, family background, local context, and gender, amongst other factors. The Cambridge International Examination (2016) states that:

The experienced curriculum refers to the learning students actually receive as a result of the whole educational experience. This includes the impact of the school curriculum, teaching approaches, the co-curricular curriculum and the learning environment. It includes both the planned and unplanned or unintended outcomes of the curriculum.

It is the student who emphasises certain details over others; s/he omits or highlights certain knowledge, and this is what is meant by the experienced curriculum. As Sizer (1999, 161) quotes:

Students often played a mediating role in their learning, at times consciously choosing when and how to engage from a range of personally preferred learning strategies. Learning choices were often related to perceptions students had about what was valuable or important to learn and who was best suited to assist their learning at given times, and feelings of self-esteem and self-confidence.

Based on this quotation, I strongly argue that the experienced curriculum on citizenship is enriched by the collaborative work with peers, the relationship with the school staff and the links with the community. It is not enough to have weekly lessons on certain topics; it is necessary to have the time to reflect on knowledge and how this is linked to everyday self and others' experiences.

### **8.3.2 Students' concepts, views and opinions of citizenship**

Students need to develop skills and attitudes for an effective exercise of citizenship; they also need the knowledge to understand what makes them citizens apart from being humans, individuals and a person (Yeatman, 2007).

From this study, most PSS students could not identify certain topics of citizenship currently being taught, such as human rights, voting, and social participation, among others, even when contents were planned in the curriculum and teachers claim to have covered those themes in previous years. Students do not link practices of citizenship within the school and community to that which constitutes knowledge and skills of citizenship, for example, participation in elections of members of the students' council,

weekly students' meetings and the opportunities to actively participate in the enactment of the school's regulations. Almost all students from both schools shared their concerns about not having more knowledge in politics and civics to become a 'better citizen.'

Understandings of citizenship and citizen are built upon certain ideologies. In Chile, these are the liberal, republican/conservative, and human capital ideologies. These ideologies align with what students shared: focus on legal status (being Chilean, being 18 years of age, not having criminal records and living in Chile for an extended period of time); set of rules (respect for authorities, fulfilment of the law, right to vote); membership of a particular community; participation (social and political); which is also present and aligns with a communitarian approach is the belonging to a community (sharing identity and culture, contributing to community well-being and good behaviour). These understandings are shared by head teachers; teachers and parents interviewed, who especially focus on the characteristics that a 'good citizen' should show. This is summarised in the classification already discussed: that of 'citizen-to-be' and a 'full citizen'.

International studies such as CIVED in 1999 (Torney-Purta et.al.,1999) and the ICCS conducted between 2006-2010 (Schulz, Ainley, Friedman et.al., 2010), and the Citizenship Education Commission (MINEDUC, 2004) showed the degree of Chilean students' civic knowledge. These studies demonstrated that students achieved scores in civic knowledge that are significantly lower than the international level. It seems that the situation has not considerably changed over the years and was evidenced in students from both schools.

The ICCS 2009 (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon et.al., 2010) makes a differentiation between 'civics' as interpersonal and inter-group relationships, and 'citizenship' as the citizen's relationship with state and government. As argued in this study, I consider CE as a practice which encompasses all those kinds of relationships. Thus, a knowledge of civics is crucial for students to be prepared to respond to social and political issues. Education as a deliberate formal process should provide opportunities for capacity building to understand civics and politics (Cox et al., 2005). As Lin (2015) comments, CE programmes can supplement mainstream social studies and civics courses to give students a participatory experience of learning about democracy. I would add that, in the end, this will contribute to a more egalitarian society as citizenship is crucial for social inclusion

and creating critical subjects who respond rationally to socio-economic and political influences. In this study, students seem to understand CE as a set of contents about rights, responsibilities, voting, nationality, etc. However, even though these contents are known on a certain level, students do not connect them to their daily lives and experiences.

### **8.3.3 Citizenship and students' identity**

One of the focuses of this study was to develop fieldwork in a small city in southern Chile to explore whether geographical location has an influence on understandings of citizenship. I found that it is an important issue for students to live in a small city, which, though lacking in some resources, at the same time, provides more opportunities for 'building a community'. As Leighton (2012) points out, identities are affected by social circumstances and historical events; thus, the place of residence definitely impacts the way identity is built up.

Students participating in this study, identified themselves as individuals with characteristics that differentiate them from people who live in larger cities, especially in the capital. For them, the voice of those who live in Santiago is certainly heard, a situation that does not occur in other regions of the country. Therefore, they highly value the local community in which they establish a meaningful relationship with others, especially with regard to helping someone in need and to receiving support from other individuals.

Regarding identity as citizens, students from both schools think they are citizens in certain ways; for example, they can give opinions, even when 'nobody' listens to them (most PFBS and some PSS students), elect student representatives (both schools), and participate in charity activities (PFBS). Nevertheless, all of them coincide in that they will be 'full' citizens once they turn 18 years of age (MINEDUC, 1998, 2009, 2013).

All students from both schools agreed that neither gender nor the socio-economic status should be considered to define who a citizen is. When I tried to explore why they do not think gender should make a difference in conceptualising citizen, responses were that all of us are equal and belong to a society or community. The most important characteristic of a citizen for students from both schools is personal and social responsibility, with a focus on their community belonging from PSS students (Yeatman, 2007). In their views (both schools), they need not only knowledge but also skills to interact with other citizens in the context of a community; they feel they lack these skills (most PSS). They also

highlight the need for developing citizenship attitudes to avoid irresponsible decisions in the future. However, the emphasis is given only to ‘the future’ and not on the present because, as already discussed, they consider themselves as ‘citizens in training’ (both schools). In this sense, I agree with Leighton (2012, 36) when he states:

Pupils are citizens now, not some vague in the future, and their roles, involvement and entitlement need to be continually developed, as they do for us all.

An individual can have multiple identities based on race or ethnicity, culture, location, gender, religion, politics, socio-economic status, etc. A quality CE could guide students to be aware of these identities and help them to identify themselves as citizens, regardless of geographical location, family background, gender, age and nationality, and therefore, as people who have an important role to play in today’s society. It could also help them to understand that, like any other citizen, they are in the process of developing skills and attitudes to practise their citizenship. Their identity is based on them as individuals but also as part of a particular community (Turner, 2000). Thus, CE should reinforce their sense of belonging to a local space.

However, the definition of ‘local’ space is quite controversial. Garcia Canclini (2001) talks about the current global scenario in which a redefinition of the sense of belonging and identity are changing because of communities less organised by local or national loyalties and more by participation in consumer de-territorialized communities. Then, a further contribution of CE is to strengthen the individual and collective identity in connection with a particular territory, inspiring loyalty among people who live in that land. It contributes to the reproduction of feelings and beliefs that make a community more united, in which the most basic loyalties in social life are easier to build (MINEDUC, 2004). In this study, most students expressed commitment and attachment to their local space; however, no recognition of the role of CE in that bond.

Another aspect regarding students’ identity is that as individuals they base it on being successful in tertiary education and the labour market. All students expressed the importance of becoming ‘professionals’ (PFBS) and technicians (PSS) to ensure a good socio-economic status and contribute to the improvement of the local community. I argue that the presence of an aggressive market ideology has become global; it influences people virtually everywhere, including the socio-cultural environment in which students are

embedded, with patterns of success as a desirable goal and base upon which to build personal identity.

I suggest that there are several situations that could counteract the negative influence of a neoliberal, market-driven ideology. One of them is the inclusion of economics in the curriculum and the way this knowledge is approached. The three versions of the Chilean curriculum emphasise the economic aspect of life as crucial for citizens; therefore, students should be able to understand it. One CMO to be covered in secondary education is:

Explanation of the concept of economic organisation and exemplification of various forms that different cultures have adopted to obtain the goods and services they require to live and develop. Description of the economic problem (scarcity and distribution of goods for the satisfaction of multiple needs) in concrete situations. Description of the market as a space for the exchange of goods. (MINEDUC, 2009, 214)

Also, students could be encouraged to assimilate the economic perspective as linked to all other geographical, historical and political aspects of life. To achieve this goal, syllabuses have to include content and activities that cover economics and boost the curiosity of students to understand it. Research in the economic dimension of citizenship is still underdeveloped, but the economic and financial literacy of children and youth has been more explored (Davies, Howie, Mangan & Telhaj, 2002; Denegri, 2006; Bessa, Fermiano & Denegri, 2014; OECD, 2014a). Economic education is not a compulsory subject in many countries like England and Chile, but an increasing number of countries have implemented financial education programmes in schools (OECD, 2014a). In the case of Chile, economic and financial topics are embedded in Maths and HGSC. Research in economic education programmes has been carried out in Chile for the last 15 years. The results show a significant increase in economic literacy levels of participants in a programme called 'Me and Economics'; significant differences between gender, socio-economic level, and an interactive effect between boys and girls of the upper socio-economic level were found (Denegri, 2006).

As the understanding of economics is a desirable goal for everyone, I argue that it is crucial for citizens to have the knowledge and how to apply it to daily decisions. Economic literacy makes us aware of the negative consequences of a neoliberal model and a market-driven ideology. Therefore, better decisions would be made to counteract

the effects of such models. The curriculum should emphasise more the need to include these topics in several subjects, but overall, to link it to practices of citizenship, i.e. a citizen is expected to understand economics. Thus, students should comprehend their identity as citizens before consumers.

Another essential factor in the discussion of identity building and its relation to citizenship, is the group and community dimension. As already debated throughout this study, schools are advised to facilitate spaces to strengthen the students-family-peers-staff-community link to help the development of citizenship practices. One key aspect is teamwork with different social actors; when students have the opportunity to work in teams, can identify with others' common needs and pursue a collective good. Thus, they are integrated into a peer group, strengthening common bonds of loyalty and belonging (MINEDUC, 2004). This allows them from an early age to build a representation of identity and social integration that overcomes the limitation of just an 'individual' who has to be competent and successful to be accepted in society. Active participation is a fundamental element to facilitate citizens' commitment to the well-being of the community. Students from the PFBS shared that they participated in groups and activities organised by the school; whereas several from the PSS said they are members of community groups. Both are interested in engaging in community projects and only three are considering more political involvement in the future. This situation is consistent with what Sherrod, Torney-Purta and Flanagan (2010) state: there is some evidence that young people are increasingly taking part in alternative forms of participation involving community-based action with peers of similar age.

The reflection on students' campaigns concerning issues has to be orientated also towards the current global scenario in which conceptualisations of citizenship are shaped by several phenomena.

#### **8.3.4 Students as global citizens?**

I previously cited García Canclini (2001) on his reflection about changes in the local context. This has implications on conceptualisations of 'citizen' as the global dimension has become a key point that defies notions of citizenship about a nation-state. In a national and international context characterised by rapid and profound social transformations, a product of the phenomenon of globalisation, individuals are heavily influenced by

situations that occur in different territories and often far from their nearest local context (Giddens, 2003). In a global, rapidly changing and postmodern scenario, in which the reality and the subject are considered as 'fragmented' and knowledge is produced and reproduced at high speed (Bellamy & Palumbo, 2010), people need to understand the phenomena as interconnected issues. Therefore, students need a comprehensive formation (knowledge, skills, attitudes, values) to understand the global reality better. They also need to understand themselves as cosmopolitan global citizens; this means their rights and responsibilities as citizens are beyond the borders of a given territory (Delanty, 2010).

In the context of globalisation, the local, national and global dimensions are interconnected. This emphasis is present in the Curriculum 1998 and its Update 2009, but it is highlighted more in the new Curriculum Proposal or Bases 2013. The discourse embedded in these three documents states the need of competent individuals, facing the challenges of a more and more globalised society, contributing in this way to the development of the country. Thus, students learn, amongst other things, what the characteristics of globalisation are and what a person and the country need to be successful in a changing world. But there is a lack of objectives and content that help students to understand themselves as global citizens, human beings that are citizens regardless of nationality, gender and place of residence, which is related to the cosmopolitan perspective of citizenship (Falk, 2000; Cabrera, 2010). If the student defines her/himself as a global citizen then s/he will be able to understand that her/his decisions have an impact, not only at the local level, but also at the national and international one. This can help students to become citizens more interested in engaging with others and the community to achieve certain common goals in society, but more importantly, to recognise their influence in not only their local context but on a more global scale.

In this study, students do not identify themselves as global citizens; they understand their condition as citizens-to-be; their rights and responsibilities are bounded by a defined territory (Chile). The Curriculum 1998 and the HGSC textbook propose an entire unit, which aims at reinforcing a Latin-American identity and the topic of globalisation is embedded in all units. Nonetheless, students do not identify with the global dimension of citizenship nor an identity as Latin-Americans. All of them agreed in the idea that if they decided to move to another country they would not be citizens until they have got that country's nationality.

### **8.3.5 Contribution of the subject History, Geography and Social Sciences to knowledge and experience of citizenship**

The subject HGSC is the main one in which topics of citizenship should be taught, and a reason for enacting the Curriculum Update 2009 to make it more meaningful for students. One of its primary goals was the reinforcement of CE for grade 12. Before this reform or update, it consisted of the idea of ‘citizenship training’, i.e. contents should be learned by students so they would behave as good citizens in the future (students needed ‘to be formed’ as citizens). Although this view of CE is narrow, it is valuable in that the governments after the dictatorship made efforts to include civic and political content and the development of skills for a democratic society. In a new scenario of democracy, students needed to be educated as ‘rational, tolerant citizens, able to understand the past, present and make plans for the future’ (Gazmuri, 2013, 13). Also, what democracy, national identity and history mean, in the context of an increasingly globalised and interdependent world, understanding the tension and complementarity between the two national and global levels (MINEDUC, 1998; MINEDUC 2009).

After more than twenty years of democracy, it seems that the dictatorship, in the perception of adults, is still a period in history from which the individual has to learn lessons for the future. This situation is evidenced in teachers of HGSC interviewed in this study, who constructed an idea of a rational, tolerant, respectful citizen, who has to keep in mind situations lived in the country before the last democratic governments. They think HGSC and CE should encourage students to ‘think’ and make good responsible decisions and respect authority, all views aligned with a republican perspective of citizenship. It is expected that new generations of teachers will introduce a more critical discourse within the classroom and school: students are subjects who have the opportunity of reaching their own conclusions on historical processes.

Despite several issues previously explained about the lack of coordination between the curriculum policy documents, participants in this study from both schools, recognised that the subject HGSC contributes to understandings of citizenship. The reasons given were that some contents of citizenship were actually covered in grade 12; teachers had established a meaningful relationship with their students, even when their pedagogical tools are too traditional in students’ views. They also highly valued the efforts made by teachers to encourage debate within the classroom, although this attempt has not happened



very often. Some pedagogical tools employed in the delivery of CE contents during lessons of HGSC, although not very creative, contributed to students developing some innovative activities in the classroom such as conceptual maps, debate in small groups and projection of videos (mentioned mostly by PFBS students). The question is whether these activities in which students have to use their skills of enquiry, analysis, debate and interpretation of facts, have contributed to their understandings of citizenship. From the interviews and FGD, almost none of the students connect these skills to the development of citizenship; only mentions of ‘debate’ as an ability that might help them as citizens to make their voice heard (a few PFBS and one PSS students).

#### **8.4 Summary**

In this Chapter, I discussed reflections which were the result of a dialogue between what I investigated in the literature regarding citizenship and CE, the review of documents, the findings from data (focus groups, in-depth interviews and observations) and my views and opinions of the topics studied. This chapter was guided by what is understood as the experienced curriculum: the students’ actual learning in the school, influenced by their lived experiences with families and the community.

The first section covered considerations on the link between the intended and implemented curriculum in Chile. My discussion had the purpose of linking findings to what curriculum was being implemented in 2013, how CE was being carried out and the role of the teachers in the teaching of citizenship.

The intended curriculum is the planned and expressed framework that may have the authority of law. It is influenced by a set of issues such as the law, education policies, curriculum support materials, political pressure groups, national assessment institutions and authorities, educational evaluators and researchers, and schools’ staff, amongst others. Students and families should have a say, and their voices be heard in the enactment of the curriculum; however, this is difficult to show in the case of Chile.

The implemented curriculum consists of the courses, lessons, and learning activities students participate in, as well as the knowledge and skills educators intentionally teach to students. Teachers’ beliefs, interpretations and values, members of the school

community and students' background and life experiences have an impact on what is implemented and experienced in the classroom. It happens that educators' and students' intentions and interpretations do not always coincide. Also, some factors might hinder the implementation of the intended curriculum, such as the gap between theory and practice, the lack of consistency in the curriculum contents and other education policy documents, and the insufficient training of teachers. Policy makers should place students' lived experiences of citizenship within their family context, the school and in their involvement in the local community as a priority when enacting the curriculum. Also, educators should understand and value the hidden curriculum, those aspects not explicit in the official document, but that are communicated to students, contributing to or obstructing the exercise of citizenship.

An obstacle to the development of students' citizenship is the views of what education is. The discourse embedded in the Chilean social and educational scenario due to the neoliberal ideologies introduced by Pinochet (1973-1990) is that education is a private good. The results not only are the shortcomings but the inequality and low-quality education. Families would expect and prefer to enrol their children in private schools, which are paid; those who cannot afford the fees send their children to the best reachable education institution. This creates classes of students, and I argue, types of citizens.

In this study, I have focused on municipalised (public) and private (subsidised), and secular and faith-based schools. The type of school determines its ethos and climate; in consequence, the way/s in which the school interacts with the curriculum to produce an outcome and experience of citizenship. The curriculum anticipates goals to be achieved; the type of environment (school and community) influences the way in which these goals are reached, making students' experiences more or less rich.

In the debate of which schooling is better, secular or faith-based, the emphasis should be on improving the school climate to facilitate spaces for the encounter of students from different backgrounds, the dialogue between them and equalise opportunities for them regarding access to citizenship topics. One way to enhance the school climate is by reinforcing its identity. In this sense, Catholic schools have shown in different contexts to guide students in their status as 'good citizens', responsible for the well-being of their communities. This not necessarily ensures higher levels of community or public participation of their students in society.

One facilitator for students' development of citizenship is the kind of participation within the school and the community. An institutional structure of schools and an educational model designed to provide greater autonomy of decision and action of the individuals facilitates students' active participation, and so the skills needed for the exercise of citizenship. A larger involvement of students in decision-making processes might help to change power relationships within the school, and also in the community.

As argued in this study, the role of teachers in CE is fundamental. Considering the two basic approaches to the teaching of HGSC (primary subject to teach CE), the great tradition has been the principal one with teacher-centred activities. A quality CE has to include a student-centred curriculum and organisation of lessons to guide them in the discovery of themselves in their condition as citizens. In a slow turn to a new history approach in Chile, which in consequence should be used in the teaching of CE, it is expected that pedagogical re-conceptualisations will occur, with more influence from critical pedagogy.

The second section was focused on how students experience the curriculum. The experienced curriculum is the responses, engagement and learning of students from the events, people, materials, and social or emotional environment of the classroom. It focuses on the students' actual learning and is not assessed by an objective or standardised test score.

CE in many cases has been taught as a set of rules (rights and responsibilities) that every citizen should follow or apply. Also, as a set of contents that should be learned in order to pass exams for a particular syllabus or subject. However, it is about knowledge linked to lived experiences. Students process the information they have received and from their own perceptions and views construct their understandings of citizenship. However, secondary school students in Chile lack the knowledge of citizenship they are supposed to have acquired by the time they are in grade 12. They are not linking knowledge to their experiences of citizenship. Therefore, a large proportion of students do not recognise themselves as citizens; almost none of them identify as cosmopolitan, global citizens.

Even when the picture seems to be dark, there have been improvements in CE; the subject HGSC means a contribution to the generation of spaces for discussion, helping students to develop citizen skills such as problem solving and debate. Also, it provides knowledge

on events from the past in which citizens have cooperated for social changes, helps to understand the political and civic context and gives some conceptualisations of citizenship. The last chapter of this research is a summary of the main findings, some conclusions, suggestions and implications for citizenship education.

## **Chapter 9. Summary, conclusions, suggestions and implications for citizenship education**

### **9.1 Revisiting the Research: some reflections**

This research has studied understandings of citizenship and CE, with special reference to secondary schools in Chile. Students' voice has been a priority; how they understand the issues mentioned. I also have compared their views on what educational policy states regarding citizenship and CE.

Why is all this important? Because there are issues about the way citizenship is conceptualised within the curriculum. What is often missing is the understanding that citizenship is a lived thing, a lived experience; then, it is crucial to link the experiences people have with what the country envisions as a citizen. I asked myself the question why is the curriculum interested in citizenship and CE? What is it trying to achieve? I have already discussed that the curriculum goals aim at guiding students to become citizens. But, what else is missing? One response is the inclusion of the students' voice in the design of the curriculum. The way citizenship and CE are presented in Chile is a quite typical way of how they are presented in other countries. However, Chile has its particular historical background, shaped by a dictatorship and neoliberalism, which influence students' experiences of citizenship. These experiences are not visible in curriculum documents and laws of education. The curriculum is much more driven in the context of classrooms and schools. Citizenship is presented in a quite static view and when students are asked their opinion other understandings emerge, which are not properly articulated or reflected in the curriculum.

Why did I look at different types of schools? To explore whether the particular school ethos hinders or helps the development and practice of citizenship. The way CE is delivered has to do with how students construct citizenship. Although students from both schools share some aspects of their identity, the schools religious and secular discourses make a difference in that construction. Also, if what students bring into schools as lived experiences of citizenship is not paid much attention, is not given the needed space within

daily situations at the school, then the lack of a link between conceptualisations and practices of citizenship will remain broken.

## **9.2 Summary of the main research findings**

The main findings are summarised in order to answer the research questions. These are citizenship and CE in official government education policy documents in Chile, students in grade 12 understandings of citizenship and CE in selected secondary secular and faith-based schools in Chile in relation to their backgrounds and the extent to which students' understandings and practices of citizenship and CE are helped or hindered by the implemented curriculum in Chile.

### **9.2.1 Citizenship and citizenship education in education documents in Chile**

The official education documents in Chile analysed in this study were the Curriculum 1998, Curriculum Update 2009 and Curriculum Proposal 2013, and the textbook for the HGSC subject.

Policy makers in Chile have (re)engineered the school curriculum to respond to the new context of democracy after the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990) and the revived interest and emphasis on CE worldwide and in Chile.

The Curriculum 1998 for Secondary Schools formed the basis for the next updates (2005 and 2009) and the new Proposal 2013 being implemented. It establishes fundamental objectives which are the competences or capabilities that students should achieve by the end of secondary education, and minimum mandatory content, which describes the knowledge, abilities, and attitudes to be taught to students. It emerged after a debate between several actors such as politicians, economists, professionals from the academic world, and religious and social leaders, among others.

The Curriculum Update 2009 was enacted with no direct involvement of specific economic or political groups. The modifications needed were identified through continuous assessments by the Curriculum and Assessment Unit and the results of international studies in which Chile did not achieve the expected outcomes. Experts in education, especially teachers, were consulted. The Curriculum Bases 2013 is a response

to the recently promulgated General Education Law, new learning standards, changes in knowledge and the demands of the society. Both the Update 2009 and Proposal 2013 were the result, in a significant way, of student mobilisations seeking and demanding quality education for all.

The three versions of the curriculum show changes in emphasis, contents and objectives embedded in them, and an improvement in contents and pedagogical tools, depending on the context of the country and the way it was promulgated. What has not decidedly changed over the years are the discourses and ideologies ingrained in them. Neoliberal, liberal and republicanism are its prevailing ideologies; human capital emphasis is present in the curriculum as well, and some critical ideas have been incorporated in a minor scale.

Regarding conceptualisations of citizenship and citizen, the evidence shows controversies and contradictions for those terms in the documents. First, there are no direct definitions for citizenship and citizen within the curriculum and the textbook. Citizenship is an expected result of the education system and is usually connected to attitudes that citizens should develop to understand and behave in current scenarios (democracy, neoliberal contexts, in the protection of human rights, amongst others). It should be exercised by human beings; it is understood as a 'value' and categorised into the individual level.

Although the Curriculum 1998 emphasises the importance of citizenship, there are no specific transverse objectives related to the practices and forms of citizenship. The notion of 'citizen' is linked to conceptions of an individual committed to his or her country and other individuals. The Curriculum Update 2009 and the Proposal 2013 introduce some contents and broad conceptualisations related to citizenship that show the topic is relevant to Chilean society.

CE is delivered through the subject HGSC. The Update 2009 includes citizenship themes in this subject and Philosophy and Psychology, not through a particular subject like 'Civic Education' during the dictatorship of Pinochet. Since 2014, CE has been implemented from grade 7 in three subjects: 'History, Geography and Social Sciences', 'Maths' and 'Language', according to the Curriculum Proposal 2013. The purpose of CE in the curriculum has not dramatically changed but has incorporated an emphasis on the characteristics of a plural society. This version has been intended to encourage in students the development of competences needed for citizenship. The emphasis on competences

was also present in 1998 and 2009. This focus is shown in the encouragement to students for them to develop the skills and attitudes for a democratic social coexistence; to be able to argue and debate, negotiate, organise and participate in the formulation and resolution of problems and to get the knowledge needed for the practice of citizenship.

### **9.2.2 Grade 12 students' understandings of citizenship in relation to their backgrounds**

The social actors relevant to this study are the students, families and the local community. The interaction between these categories of people decisively influences students' practices of citizenship.

One of the crucial issues in the conceptualisations and practices of citizenship is identity. Students construct it in two basic terms, as the competences or skills a person develops to face life, and in relation to the membership of an individual to a national context (country or nation). Regarding personal or individual identity, there were different points of views expressed by students about them as citizens. The principal opinions were that a person would be a citizen when they turn 18; on the other hand, a student is a citizen in certain ways because they are part of a community (the school and local one).

The local context and how identity (individual and community) is constructed and related to citizenship are closely related. Identity is shaped by the lived experiences in the city of residence. Students recognise that there are advantages and disadvantages of living in a small town, which has an impact on their perceptions as citizens. Some advantages are that people develop a deeper understanding of the local culture, live a quiet life, establish close relationships with their families, relatives and neighbours, so they get to know each other more and help those who are in need and have more opportunities to get involved in activities at the local level. Disadvantages are the fewer opportunities they have to access certain goods, social and cultural activities, and the lack of institutions to continue studies in tertiary education. Also, a feeling of isolation and the disinterest from authorities towards their needs; they opine their voice is not heard beyond their local context. All these opinions are shared by students from both schools.

Expectations have to do with the hopes students themselves, families, schools and communities have built up on students' future lives as individuals and citizens. There were differences of expectations between the two groups of participants depending on the



type of school. Students, teachers and parents from the faith-based school converge in the opinion that the primary expectation is for students to become ‘professionals’ (to gain entrance to tertiary education). A good attainment in higher education is the way to contribute to a better society and community, be good citizens and improve socio-economic status and wellbeing of individuals. This is one of the main reasons for parents to have enrolled their children in the faith-based school. Participants from the secular school agree in the importance of getting access to tertiary education, but they were focused on enter the labour market after graduating from school.

The involvement of students in the community might influence the way in which different social actors perceive students as citizens. In the PFBS, the expectations were related to the social responsibility and solidarity students should show as members of a Catholic institution to contribute to the country (liberal ideologies). From the evidence, students’ commitment to community is driven by their identity as students of a particular school and its principles rather than to an engagement to the community itself. By contrast, students from the secular school seem to be more involved in local groups and organisations, but the school is not a facilitator for this participation. This means that although students bring experiences of involvement in local groups and organisations that have the potential to teach about citizenship, this is not taken advantage of in the school to give meaning to CE.

There is a debate on what kind of schooling (public/private, secular/faith-based) better contributes to pluralistic, cosmopolitan, multicultural and democratic societies. One response is that all schools should have a unique philosophy that envisions them as a community committed to the full development of all students. The debate should be around what differentiates types of education and school and also, what their common characteristics are.

### **9.2.3 Students’ understandings and practices of citizenship and citizenship education in relation to the implemented curriculum within selected public-secular and private faith-based schools in Chile**

Citizenship is a contested concept and idea because of the multiple discourses and standpoints from which it has been analysed throughout history. The 17th-century liberalism proposed that all individuals have rights to life, liberty and property. In words

of Marshall & Bottomore (1992) citizenship is a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. Post-liberal citizenship includes ideas from socialism, republicanism, communitarianism, feminism and ecologism, amongst others. Rights and responsibilities are mutually supportive; from communitarian and civic republican positions being a full citizen necessarily entails active participation in the political community; this participation is given mainly by the right to vote.

Citizenship has also been defined in terms of the membership of individuals to a nation-state, but this definition would leave out issues such as identity, belonging to a community and participation of individuals and groups in that community. Also, this definition does not cover the multicultural and (neoliberal) global dimensions of the present world context. Thus, cosmopolitan citizenship is valuable to overcome some of the limitations of an understanding of citizenship only as a political affiliation and membership to a state. The cosmopolitan orientation states that all individuals are equal and citizens because they are human beings. A citizen participates in social life in one way or another and has a cultural identity, which extends to groups as well.

In the views of students, citizenship is determined by a legal status (being Chilean, being 18 years old, no criminal records and living in Chile for a long time); a set of rules (respect for authorities, fulfilment of the law, right to vote); and the membership to a particular community (getting involved in the community, helping others and being helped). With regard to understandings of citizen, the legal status has an emphasis on 'being' (born in Chile, being Chilean and being 18 years old); participation is a dimension of being a citizen, and it is described as political participation (right to vote and participation in elections) and social participation (involvement in decision-making processes, freedom of speech, exercising to become a good citizen); and belonging to a community (sharing identity and culture, contributing to community well-being and showing good behaviour).

Students' understandings of citizenship show conceptions that come from liberal ideas (status, membership to a state). Also, from republicanism that promotes the responsibilities of citizens, mainly by the right to vote. Other emphases from more recent points of view from which citizenship is analysed are present in a minor proportion, such as the belonging to a global community, and the cosmopolitan approach that understands a citizen as a human being. In summary, almost all participants define citizenship by

explaining what they understand a citizen is and should be. More clarifications of their views came out as they described how citizenship is obtained and exercised.

Education and CE play a crucial role in the development of citizenship. CE implies educating children to become clear-thinking and enlightened citizens who participate in decisions concerning society (UNESCO, 2010). Besides which, to equip students with a set of tools (knowledge and understanding, skills and attitudes, values and dispositions) which enable them to participate actively in the roles and responsibilities of their adult lives (Kerr, 1999b). In my study, I understand citizenship education to be what the school does through particular curriculum subjects and activities aimed at delivering knowledge about citizenship and promoting the development and exercise of citizenship in students.

The school plays a crucial role in helping or hindering the development and exercise of citizenship. CE is being implemented in both schools, helping students to exercise citizenship although not all of them identify this. Inference can be seen in the pedagogical tools and practices within the school that do not facilitate the recognition of the exercise of citizenship. According to participants' views, CE is not considered a practice but a group of topics and contents they should learn throughout the years of formal education. In both schools, there was a teaching shortfall of citizenship content; major reasons were time constraints and the lack of coordination between education documents (the Curriculum 2009, Plans and Programs and the text for HGSC subject). Although contents of citizenship were not delivered as it was intended in the Curriculum 2009, it is possible to state that the type of CE being implemented is a combination of several approaches.

As in this study the subject HGSC is a key point for the discussion of students' understandings of citizenship and CE, I reflected on the paradigms that have guided the way it is delivered. In Chile, the one prevailing paradigm has been the great tradition, which addresses the prescription, sequences and chronology of contents. The new history approach stresses the development of citizenship attitudes and historical awareness, a paradigm becoming more popular in the last version of the curriculum.

Students' experiences are shaped by their connection with the school and the school ethos. Students from the faith-based one highlight its 'prestige', the excellent quality of its education, the closeness between teachers, school workers, head teachers and students, the good quality of its infrastructure and the absence of inappropriate behaviour amongst

students. There is a strong sense of belonging to the school. With respect to the secular school, participants' views converge in that it is not the best institution in the city, but it offers acceptable quality education. The school is preparing students to get access to the labour market; only a small number of students will obtain the score in the PSU required to continue into higher education. In their opinion, there are some behavioural problems in the school and low commitment towards the school. The characteristics of the relationship between students and the school have shown that those from the faith-based recognise some activities they are involved in as practices of citizenship; the religious discourse motivates them to participate in given spaces to become good citizens and help others and the community. In the secular school, even when students actively participate within the school and in local activities and institutions, they do not identify these practices as an exercise of citizenship.

Students' understandings and practices depend in a significant way on the role of teachers in the teaching of citizenship. They might guide or prevent the development of knowledge, skills and attitudes in students, thus it is crucial to understand how they conceptualise citizenship and citizen, the ways in which they construct the idea of students as citizens and the pedagogical approaches and tools they employ in the delivering of contents, amongst other things. For all the teachers interviewed and the head teachers, CE is an idea linked to the teaching of civics. They had basically taught contents proposed in the textbook of HGSC and in students' opinions, classes have been too traditional, with low levels of creativeness. Teachers are aware of the reforms in education and the curriculum to be gradually implemented from 2014. Some issues that do not facilitate the link between knowledge and practices of citizenship are teachers' preparation in citizenship, pedagogical tools used, the misconception of citizenship as a particular subject to be taught and time constraints in covering all topics suggested in the curriculum.

The experience of CE through several subjects was recognised by students; some of the subjects mentioned were HGSC, Philosophy and Psychology, Language, Technology (elective subject) and CSRN.

Students and teachers' views on CE converge in that the subject 'Civic Education' should not have been removed from the curriculum because topics on citizenship need a particular subject to cover all its important issues. The majority of students agreed on

HGSC as the subject that includes some contents on citizenship, which is crucial to get the knowledge needed for the practice of citizenship.

### **9.3 Implications for a new policy in citizenship education**

This section in the chapter is a discussion of the challenges that present Chilean society regarding the need for a new effective, quality and meaningful CE. As for students, ‘citizenship’ is a crucial condition of human beings and they require the knowledge and skills to practise it. Therefore, a reflection on ways to improve the exercise of citizenship must be made, starting from the schooling system: students’ voices must be heard. Furthermore, in the public discourse citizenship has a main role to play in the development of democratic societies. I explain the need for better training for teachers, for an updated understanding of education and CE, a better understanding of different types of schools and a review of the discourses embedded in the curriculum.

#### **9.3.1 An updated understanding of education and citizenship education**

Citizenship education must be relevant to the lives of pupils and the lives of those around them if it is to have any long-lasting effect (Leighton, 2015, 21). It can be understood in several ways, but I highlight the conceptualisation developed by Kerr (2003, 141) in terms that it involves the developing of knowledge, skills, attitudes, worldviews, participation and engagement, and a reason for not framing it to only the school context: ‘CE permeates family and community, and it is influenced by the political culture in society’

In the Chilean education system, it is a set of concepts that has to be delivered in more than one subject (MINEDUC, 1998, 2009, 2013). According to Hoge (2002), it refers to instructional strategies that promote democratic ways of thinking that foster informed and active citizenship. I argue that CE should be understood not only as a set of contents or strategies but as a practice within the school, which is implemented throughout more than one particular subject, that could and might include extra-curricular activities, and that promotes a strong students-peers-families-school-community relationship. CE should overcome the emphasis on competences and the individual dimension of the person and focus more in the interactions between groups of citizens in a global context in which all of us are entitled to be seen as citizens.

Although the evidence in this study shows that there are obstacles to achieve that in the short time, I propose CE to be student-centred. This would require a shift in ideologies, in the way the education documents are enacted and training of teachers and other education actors. Campbell (2006) argues that it must promote classroom discussion and cooperative activities; therefore, students will be engaged in different types of learning activities (Kerr, 1999b; Althof and Berkowitz 2006). To achieve this goal, CE should be seen as closely related to participation (Lin, 2015). In other words, education is a facilitator for citizens to participate in social and economic systems of the twenty-first century affected by rapid globalisation (Banks, 2004). This participation is effective for students when they understand the complexities of the environment in which they are embedded. It should not only be instrumental and functional but an opportunity for consultation, cooperation and agreement between students for responsible decision-making and to encourage commitment to the community.

Participation should seek solutions to the most significant problems for people, which include not only the acquisition of certain goods and services but all cultural, social and educational resources. As already said, citizenship is developed in the context of individuals living in a community. Therefore, it becomes crucial to promote projects of CE to enhance shared spaces in which students could discuss and negotiate, in an environment of mutual respect. Students need to be encouraged to design and implement projects aimed at achieving collective good. Students find it significant to work with their classmates and teachers to achieve a goal that might benefit themselves, their families and the school community.

A renewed understanding of education and CE implies a relevant curriculum, more and better training for teachers and more resources in terms of material, textbooks and infrastructure. Crawford (1996) points out that the curriculum should not be marked by exclusivity, i.e. not only by what is 'good' and 'bad' as these are moral judgments and may vary from one context to another. In this regard, the Curriculum Bases 2013 seems to be a more comprehensive document, in which CE is intended as a transversal goal and based mainly on the development of competences. Therefore, teachers need to be trained in this approach as it is relatively new in the case of Chilean education.

I argue that a curriculum that helps to form cosmopolitan citizens is also needed. 'Rooted cosmopolitans are distinctive people, they welcome others into their homes, arrange for

exchange students, have friends from other religions and other parts of town, attend camps that promote friendship across ethnic and economic differences, and travel to experience other cultures...they believe the old adage is still true: we have the most to learn from those most different than us' (Vryhof, 2004, 167).

If cosmopolitan citizens become a central goal of CE, then it means it should guide the school in a constant dialogue between people from local communities and those who come from different traditions and cultures. Thus, the curriculum should focus more on cosmopolitanism than on the development of competences.

CE should take into account the social transformations human beings face as a product of being immersed in a global market logic that has configured new spaces and ways to establish relationships with each other. These phenomena have deeply changed the economy and society, challenging symbols and representations that are the foundation of a common background in a given country, nation and community (Osler & Starkey, 2003). Against these phenomena the school, as part of the education system and through an effective CE, is one of the institutions that enables society to perpetuate its own existence amid a scene of constant changes (MINEDUC, 2004) as it is space for interaction and encounters between citizens. I argue that if students do not understand the extent of citizenship they face social exclusion. An individual not able to make sense of the world and context in which they are embedded is not capable of making responsible decisions.

One last issue regarding a new understanding of CE has to do with the assessment. Like most countries, there is pressure on Chilean students to pass exams and specific tests (MINEDUC, 2010a), and as said before, CE should not be a particular subject to be assessed with scores or marks. Otherwise, it is in danger of being 'constrained by the straightjacket of previous methods, previous expectations and previous outcomes' (Rudduk, 1991, 26). If the new Proposal 2013 is about developing competences, then the assessment of this area should be orientated towards reflecting on skills rather than on specific knowledge 'individuals' have acquired. Collaborative work between students, and school and community involvement, are key factors on CE; thus, different ways to evaluate these issues are needed in the educational system.

As a summary, I quote Alderson, who critiques that ‘citizenship education is to prepare students as future citizens rather than current citizens ... to regard school students as human becomings, and less than fully human beings. It is illogical...’ (1999, 33)

Education and specifically CE as a practice can boost a critical understanding of citizenship through innovative strategies used in the classroom and the entire school context.

### **9.3.2 A review of the discourses embedded in the curriculum**

The power of ideas that sustains a determined government and education system is materialised in the enactment of education documents. These ideologies are embedded in the views, definitions, goals and contents of the curriculum, as well as the guidelines and textbooks. With specific reference to the curriculum of HGSC in Chile, Becerra (1983) states that ‘history’ as a school subject has not always promoted accurate historical events or intellectual skills. The declared objectives and values of every curriculum framework have been related to the political orientation of the government in power and its need to spread its influence on society. To put it in another way, the ruling class has used history as a school subject to transmit its political and ideological interests. Thus, a responsible, honest and thorough review of the discourses present in the curriculum has to be made. As discussed throughout this study, more participation for groups that align with other ideologies, approaches to education and pedagogy should be promoted, like, for example, critical pedagogy. The reason to argue this is that Chile suffers the consequences of a neoliberal influence, which is stronger than in other countries in Latin-America as the dictatorship of Pinochet implemented an absolute capitalist-neoliberal socio-economic model, with negative influences on the education system still today.

Following on the ideas of the influences of capitalism and neoliberalism on the Chilean education system, Turner (1999, 263) points out that institutions of citizenship should protect individuals and groups from the negative outcomes and unintended vagaries of the market in a capitalist society. Citizens have legal rights and obligations, so they are entitled to get resources such as social security, health care, subsidised housing, retirement packages, and all other political rights such the right to vote, participate politically and be elected in political elections, among others; and ultimately, all cultural resources such as education, knowledge, religion and language. When political groups fail to provide the



necessary resources to sustain these rights, or favour one group over another, people's discontent arises. This is what has happened since 2006 with students in Chile.

Since all citizenship rights involve the distribution of resources, and because obligations are exercised within a societal context, any discussion of citizenship, and I add to CE, is also a consideration of power (Faulks, 2013). Marshall & Bottomore (1992) pointed out that liberal ideologies were not looking for absolute equality. Even when perfect equality is not possible, this should not be an excuse to hinder the chances citizens have to demand social justice and a more egalitarian society. A review of the discourses embedded in the education curriculum and other policy documents would allow identification of those inequalities and work on the reforms needed. I argue that it is about power: power should be redistributed within society; one way is to give students more power through hearing their voices and facilitating spaces for them to get involved in decision-making processes. In this sense, CE can become a liberating and empowering force for change (Leighton, 2012, 2).

### **9.3.3 A better understanding of different types of schools**

In the field of education, there are different perspectives on what type of schools societies need. The debate also raises dichotomies such as public/private and faith based-religious/secular-non-religious schools. Conversations between religious and secular perspectives are often antagonistic, the debates polarised (Ipgrave, 2012). We should recognise that our current society has a multi-faith and secular nature; therefore, groups within the community demand some kind of religious and secular settlement for all voices to be heard. Furthermore, it is expected that all sectors of society contribute to its well-being. In this sense, schools can be training grounds for engagement of students in this plural society and, at the same time, microcosms.

Different types of schools are needed in a plural society, recognising the particularities that make schools different from each other (school ethos). Differences between schools do not hinder CE, on the contrary, it strengthens this practice as citizens have to be formed on the basis of a collective identity and also, as individuals with particular characteristics.

As argued in this study, schools play a crucial role in promoting a link between students, their families and the local community. Each school approaches the community following

their own principles (religious or non-religious), but all of them could strengthen local participation.

Faith-based schools are needed to respond to concrete demands of social groups. Many families require a religious discourse that guides their children to be good citizens; others seek quality educational institutions in which students can achieve good attainment in education or some privilege in a peaceful school environment. Whatever the needs are, the education system should provide different types of schools, ensuring no segregation and discrimination (Ipgrave, 2012). One has to keep in mind that secular and faith-based are different in several ways: in ethos; attainment; in how schools interact with the educational curriculum; in the experiences they provide and the learning experiences; in students' perceptions, as some of them can get more out of the curriculum; in how the curriculum is nested in a certain environment, in school structures; in appreciation and opinions of students about the school; differences in teaching practices; and how the processes and outcomes are linked.

As previously mentioned, one of the controversies worldwide regarding different types of schools is the public/private education dichotomy, with the academia divided by opinions on what system is better (Levin, 1987; Giroux, 2010). Chile is not the exception to this discussion; its educational system is highly fragmented because of the private/public separation (Vergara, 1984; Gazmuri, 2013). As argued in this study, a rapid and radical privatisation of the education system took place because of the neoliberal ideology introduced in the Chilean context by Pinochet. The debate has been polarised to the point of considering private education as harmful to society, basically due to the inequalities in education between public and private schooling (OECD, 2010; MINEDUC, 2010b). Some advice for Chilean policy makers that, in my opinion, might improve the education system is given by Andreas Schleicher (2014):

Chile has a highly fragmented educational system, not only in the private/public schools, and so on, even within schools, teachers feel isolated. I think Chile has got strengths; it has many strong public and private schools. And that is a big asset Chile has. What it really lacks is a strong public system around this; much of the debate has been public versus private. The countries that have very successful public and private schools typically build a very strong system around; they share notions of what good education really is that extends to every school whoever entered. They share notions on how to develop the profession, collaboration among schools that

extends to public and private schools, not firewalling them. Building a really strong public education system would help Chile to leverage much of the talent that is now spread around. Put it the other way around; the best Minister of Education can no longer solve the problem of ten thousands of schools, thousands of teachers, millions of students, it just doesn't work in our age anymore. If you can actually mobilise the talent of your teaching force, of your principals, you can change everything in education. Building that kind of strong public system around it I think is the one thing that Chile really misses.

A strong public system and not building walls between private and public: this is advice for Chile. Also, it is crucial to reflect on the discourses within the curriculum to work on deep reforms that will make it a more pertinent document to guide students in their practices of citizenship.

#### **9.3.4 Need for better training for teachers**

Regarding the challenge that better training represents for the education system, VanSledright (2003) suggests that through history students can find an opportunity to develop a rational capacity for questioning evidence and, as a consequence, to comprehend the relationships between individuals, events, ideologies, and historical change. To achieve this goal, teachers need to be trained in new approaches to teaching. As already discussed, they were taught the great tradition approach, but the current tendency is a shift towards a new history point of view (Zúñiga et al., 2015). This implies they have to be more creative, to motivate students to enquiry and actively criticise sources being used, and to infer relationships between different facts. In this sense, I argue they will be empowering students as citizens.

The teaching of History, a subject in which citizenship topics are usually covered, might sometimes be oppressive because it can promote political and religious self-justification (VanSledright, 2013). History teachers can encourage students to think critically and participate willingly in society; on the other hand, they can help the political regime in power through providing justifications for its main ideas (Apple, 2004; Pring, 2001). This does not mean teachers would be consciously promoting the hegemony of the groups that hold the power in Chile; what it does mean however, is that they will be reproducing the inequalities our educational system faces in the current context if they are not trained to be more critical. At the same time, they need to update their views, opinions and knowledge of citizenship, which are based mainly on the ideologies that prevailed during

the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (neoliberal, conservative, liberal ideologies). Thus, they will be able to teach students more consistent citizenship conceptualisations.

The government of Chile requested the OECD in 2013, a document with international evidence and practices on teacher recruitment and professional development, aiming at supporting the reforms in education being carried out. The main recommendation the OECD Report makes in the case of Chile is to raise the status of teaching by re-shaping teacher career pathways and providing conditions that support and motivate teachers to improve. Some of the measures suggested are: ensuring the best candidates enter and remain in the profession; supporting teachers to develop, improve and grow as professionals; and improving conditions for teaching in all schools (OECD, 2014b). Furthermore, as Husbands et al. (2007) propose, measures to develop, extend and improve classroom practice need to take seriously the detailed professional knowledge which teachers already possess and deploy. Policy-makers and teachers should work on reforms based on continuous dialogue.

I believe that not only what MINEDUC through its different departments at the national and local level do to support teachers in their role is relevant, but the role of universities is also fundamental. Teachers consider themselves experts in citizenship topics as they have a degree in History. Chilean tertiary education in this area of knowledge should provide future teachers with a significant amount of contents and practices of citizenship; universities should be spaces for teachers-in-training to exercise their citizenship through a different syllabus, courses and activities. If they are meant to guide students in developing citizenship, then they need to have experienced and linked theory and practice, and in words of Pring (2001), to be given the ‘framework in which they can bring their experience and reflection upon some of the most intractable problems of society’. As Leighton (2012) suggests, CE is more than just a subject; thus, new methods, content, activities and approaches to learning are required.

These measures, once implemented, would improve the efficiency and quality of CE as teachers will be well-trained to face the challenges of new understandings and practices of citizenship within schools. Nonetheless, even when training might improve, the debate is on what knowledge teachers have learned, what understandings of citizenship they have developed, and by which ideologies have they been influenced, as their conceptualisations will be strongly incorporated in CE and reflected in the classroom.

### 9.3.5 Need to hear students' voice

The understandings of citizenship are not just derived through the curriculum as intended or as written; this is what is called the hidden curriculum, which is the unspoken or implicit academic, social, and cultural messages that are communicated to students while they are in school (Apple, 2004). These messages are also influenced by the kinds of experiences people have; in particular in Chile, they are the result of the politics and history marked by the dictatorship and the new democratic governments. Students are influenced by their families and school staff in terms of awareness about their rights and responsibilities and that invariably has to engage with what the curriculum says. The questions that arise are, does the curriculum give space for the recognition of local and family backgrounds that might influence students' understandings of citizenship? Does the curriculum offer space for students' voices to be heard? For their understandings to reshape or change the curriculum? Or, does it present a view of citizenship education that little contributes to citizenship?

The schooling context, the way in which some issues about CE are enacted in terms of the rules, relations, participation, are crucial; they are cementing values, ideologies and understandings. The whole experience of CE should be a holistic approach which engages with what the curriculum is intending, what students are coming with and what the school is doing.

Students are developing self-respect and bring into the school's experience multiple values and perspectives; thus, the dialogue between them and the school is fundamental. As Schleicher (2010) illustrates, young people are idealistic; they want to change the world. Therefore, the curriculum has to be very reflexive, open and critical rather than prescribed and defined, to allow that idealism to be materialised in concrete ways.

Students should feel that their voices are heard regardless of gender, background and geographical location. To achieve this purpose, several issues might be taken into account. One of them is the need to change the perception of the way young people are. As Sears and Hyslop-Margison (2006, 15) argue, they are 'often described as ignorant of the basic information required to function as citizens; alienated from politically participating in their societies; and agnostic because they supposedly do not believe in the values that support democratic citizenship'. Young people are frequently presented as citizens-in-

waiting (Osler & Starkey, 2003). In this study, I have argued that they are not citizens-to-be or 'in waiting' as they have a say and are actively involved within society.

A second issue is to consider students' views and demands in the enactment of education documents. One specific example mentioned in this study were the student mobilisations in Chile in 2006 and 2011; they illustrate the need for new policy in education in which students' voices should be embedded. As has been said, since the regime of Augusto Pinochet, Chile has suffered the consequences of the implementation of a neoliberal model, with its effects of inequality, one of the largest in Latin America, i.e. the 'elite' concentrates social, economic and cultural power. The people of Chile had hoped successive democratic governments (1990-2010) would implement broad reforms to the system bequeathed by Pinochet. However, after more than twenty years discontent grew, and people started to demand change from the government for a more egalitarian society.

One of the pillars of wellbeing is education as a right and as an instance of human development. The discourse given by democratic governments, embedded in education policy documents, ensured quality and equity in education, which did not occur. Inequality, the market model in education, extreme privatisation and a passive role of the state in education were situations students could no longer accept. To demand social reforms from the government implied a breakdown in hegemony and a liberalisation of a section of the populace that was once considered 'dominated'. This is why the governments of Michelle Bachelet in 2006 and Sebastián Piñera in 2011 initially refused to engage publicly with the students' movements, but after national and international pressure they had to open space for dialogue. Several goals were achieved, such as the promulgation of the new General Law of Education, free tertiary education and the end of profit in education. However, the precise results of the reforms implemented in the curriculum will need to be analysed in the future. In several ways, the students' voice was heard and was concreted in reforms. The education system should ensure their voices are always taken into account in the enactment of the curriculum.

A third factor to discuss regarding the students' voice and how to facilitate it to be heard is the spaces needed for them to develop meaningful relationships with peers. In other words, it is not only about creating channels for authorities to hear students' voices but to promote instances in which they learn and practise how to trust and listen to each other,

negotiate, define common projects that would benefit themselves and others, and to engage the community.

A final issue to cover regarding students' voices is the emphasis on competences that the Chilean curriculum is promoting. When talking about CE, the curriculum is always an interesting space where people put their intentions on what they want to achieve. The way it is delivered, the context in which it is made, the objectives proposed, what it intends to realise, the people who teach it and how it is taught are fundamental aspects that will impact on the extent in which students' voices are considered. If a person is going to learn physics or history they probably do not have as much personal experience in this subject as they do in citizenship. In other words, people have experiences, views, perceptions; that is a lived thing in terms of citizenship. Thus, within the curriculum space is needed for this to be engaged. For example, if the curriculum intends to guide people to be critical and actively participate in society, and the school does not allow students to voice their opinions and the teachers are very authoritarian, then there is a contradiction. In other words, the framing of CE is not simply helping students to develop competences, but to take into account the hidden curriculum regarding what students have learnt that was not expected and all the experiences they have as citizens rather than citizens-to-be. A person is able to achieve competences but not to consider herself as a citizen. Students will acquire core skills and competences proposed in education documents; however, this is not enough for the exercise of citizenship as they should understand and reflect on the world in which they live, patterns and structures that shape the current global scenario, and consider themselves (identity) as part of a local and international community in which their voice can be heard through several ways.

#### **9.4 Main contribution to knowledge**

This thesis argues that secondary school students' understandings of citizenship are influenced by how CE is intended in the education curriculum, implemented in the context of schools and experienced by them. However, this is not the only influence on their views. Their family backgrounds, the community in which they live and the type of school they attend (public or private, secular or faith-based) also have a crucial influence.

Chile is a good example to be studied because of the political and social context. There is contention about who is citizen and who is not, and much of what students bring into schools is brushed aside. A monolithic approach of citizenship and the citizen is embedded in the education system; the curriculum does not give account of the really processes dynamic in the development and exercise of citizenship.

This thesis represents a theoretical contribution to the literature of citizenship, as it is reviewed beyond traditional approaches such as its conceptualisations in relation to a nation-state and political affiliation; the discussion is extended to issues that comprise the current global context, participation of citizens at different scales in society and the cosmopolitan dimension of citizenship. The cosmopolitan dimension proposes that people are citizens primarily because they are human beings; thus, I consider that youth and students are citizens. I reviewed CE and education for citizenship to compare both conceptualisations as some authors use them interchangeably. For the purposes of this study, I chose the term ‘citizenship education’ as a practice that occurs within the school through the implementation of a particular curriculum. My revision of CE includes the reflection on different approaches such as ‘character/behaviour’, ‘participatory/communitarian’ and ‘for social justice and human rights’. I use international and comparative literature on civics and CE to reflect on how it is constructed in the Chilean curriculum.

Another contribution to knowledge is the review of conceptualisations of the educational curriculum (intended, implemented, experienced, hidden and for competences), drawing upon their leading characteristics and the differences between them. As CE is delivered through one specific curriculum, I focus my attention on discussing the gap between what is intended to be taught and what students actually learn within the context of the school and classroom.

In researching youth, I have explored some of the issues and controversies in the current globalised scenario. I have adopted a transitional approach which allowed me to reflect on the influences of past generations and context and the present context on the way students construct their understandings of citizenship and CE. Furthermore, to consider the challenges of researching youth allowed me to discuss the implications for methodological decisions when conducting qualitative research. Transferability is a key point to make a study credible.



### 9.5 Limitations and challenges for future studies

The use of two cases can limit the transferability to other contexts. However, the identification of the attributes of these case studies can be taken as an example of what can occur in similar contexts and in schools with similar characteristics to those chosen to conduct this study.

The focus of this study was to explore and reflect on how citizenship and CE are enacted in education policy documents. From there, it aimed at exploring what students understand by citizenship and CE and what their experiences of citizenship are in the context of the school. The focus groups and interview guidelines were intended to collect data related to the emphases just mentioned. Several topics came up with the analysis, topics that although are interesting and relevant cannot be deeply covered in this study. Some of them are the differences in understandings by gender; pedagogical approaches and tools used by teachers to deliver contents of citizenship; and the students' mobilisation as a clear expression of demands made by citizens. However, these limitations are also challenges for future research.

One of the outcomes I was expecting from this study was to propose a new model for CE in Chile. Once I started the fieldwork in Chile, I realised that a new Curriculum Bases was being designed. It included the goal of transforming CE from a set of contents to be taught to a set of contents and practices to be encouraged in more than one subject. The decision I made was to include this version of the curriculum in the analysis of documents, aiming at exploring changes MINEDUC was carrying out. Also, the law 20911 from 2016 stipulates citizen training plan must be included at the pre-school, primary and secondary school levels, which integrates and complements the national curricular definitions in this area. Although I did not include it in my documents review, I explained its principal goals. The main conclusion is that although contents, goals and emphases in the curriculum have changed, the discourse, based on neoliberalism, human capital ideas, remains similar. The question is whether quality in CE will improve considering that the discourses embedded in the curriculum are similar to its previous versions and that teachers need the training to implement the new proposal in CE, which takes time to be achieved.

Some of the challenges that arise from this study are worthy of further consideration: a) the social aspect of citizenship from students' views; b) how much the curriculum takes

into account the experiences students have; a few curricula in the world consider the political, social and cultural dimensions related to previous understandings students have; c) a particular and well described alternative curriculum not focused on the development of competences.

Chilean society faces challenges if it hopes to match its macro-economic achievements with educational improvements. It needs a new effective, quality and meaningful CE. As for students, 'citizenship' is a crucial condition of human beings and they require the knowledge and skills to practise it. Students need a quality CE not based only on competences, as they are seen and assessed only from an individual perspective. Students need to see themselves as citizens in the context of communities and globalisation. Their voices should be heard so as to include their views, opinions, understandings and experiences in the enactment of the curriculum. Teachers should be better trained also and policy makers and education actors should update their perceptions of education, CE and different types of schools, and review the discourses embedded in the curriculum.

A new approach to CE in Chile implies to take into account that in any education reform or the enactment of a curriculum, dynamic links are needed between experiences students have outside the school and what the curriculum is trying to enact. To consider that students do bring shades of experience, shaped by their backgrounds, that can be the subject of discussion and study in CE; that some students have very different understandings of CE or what it means, so that it is crucial not to ignore these issues in the curriculum. Overall, Chile has the responsibility of overcoming the neoliberal legacy of a dictatorship that has driven a quasi-market educational model, with its consequences of inequality, competency, individualism, amongst others.

What is resonant to me, in the end, is that students and young people have lived experiences of citizenship, and I keep on reflecting whether their understandings and experiences will remain ignored or dismissed or will be interrogated and considered by policy-makers and society as a whole.

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1. Certificate of Ethical Approval



<b>Social Sciences &amp; Arts Cross-School Research Ethics Committee</b> <b>CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL</b>	
<b>Reference Number:</b>	ER/PL99/1
<b>School:</b>	ESW
<b>Title of Project</b>	Students understandings about citizenship and the citizenship education in selected public and private secondary schools in Chile.
<b>Principal Investigator: (Supervisor)</b>	Paula Leal Tejada (Sayed)
<b>Expected Start Date:*</b>	22/05/2013
<p>*NB. If the <u>actual</u> project start date is delayed beyond 12 months of the <u>expected</u> start date, this Certificate of Approval will lapse and the project will need to be reviewed again to take account of changed circumstances such as legislation, sponsor requirements and University procedures</p>	
<p><b>This project has been given ethical approval by the Social Sciences/Arts Research Ethics Committee (C-REC). <i>Please note the following requirements for approved submissions:</i></b></p> <p><b>Amendments to research proposal</b> - Any changes or amendments to the approved proposal, which have ethical implications, must be submitted to the committee for authorisation prior to implementation.</p> <p><b>Feedback regarding any adverse and unexpected events</b> - Any adverse (undesirable and unintended) and unexpected events that occur during the implementation of the project must be reported to the Chair of the Social Sciences C-REC. In the event of a serious adverse event, research must be stopped immediately and the Chair alerted within 24 hours of the occurrence.</p>	
<b>Authorised Signature</b>	
<b>Name of Authorised Signatory (C-REC Chair or nominated deputy)</b>	Professor Stephen Shute 17/06/2013

## **Appendix 2. Letter for schools in Chile for permission to conduct research**

**Dear Sir,**

I am a PhD Candidate at the University of Sussex in England and I kindly request your permission to conduct the research titled *Students' understandings of citizenship and citizenship education in selected public and private secondary schools in Chile*. Details are given below.

About the researcher: My name is Paula Leal Tejeda, I am a Chilean student, PhD candidate at the University of Sussex in England and am currently recipient of one of the scholarships of the system "Becas Chile" of the National Commission for Scientific and Technological Research CONICYT. I studied an undergraduate at the Universidad de Los Lagos in Osorno, becoming a Social Worker in 2003. I earned a Master in Local and Regional Human Development at the Universidad de La Frontera. After earning the scholarship mentioned above, I decided to study in England. My aim is to contribute to the educational policy-making process in Chile. I recognise the excellent work that schools in \_\_\_\_\_ city are doing to improve the education quality at the local level and in this sense, I hope to learn from what you are implementing in schools.

About this research: Since more than 20 years ago the Chilean governments and the current one are seeking how to improve the citizenship education in the country. The purpose of this study is to explore how citizenship and citizenship education are enacted in schooling in Chile. My research aims to look at what is taught in relation to citizenship, how is taught and what are the main outcomes, considering the students' voices as a priority. It is hoped that the findings of this study could suggest areas where the teaching of citizenship education could be improved to ensure that Chilean students develop the knowledge, skills and capabilities to fully exercise their citizenship.

This study consists on visiting two schools, one private and one public, in the city of - \_\_\_\_\_ between June and September of 2013. During this time, I would like to observe classrooms and schools and interview head of schools, 10 grade 12 students from both public and private schools, teachers of 'History, Geography and Social Sciences' subjects and leaders of Associations of Parents and Guardians. I would like to explore how they understand the concepts included in citizenship education and what they identify as practices of citizenship.

Potential Risks: There are no known or anticipated risks of this research other than the risk of privacy. However, no one beside the researcher will know the response the respondents will give. The names of schools, and all participants will be anonymous. No names or exact locations will be used in the study. All participants will need to consent to participate in the study and have the right to choose to not participate or withdraw at any stage of the research process. Participants can refuse to answer my questions at any time during interviews.

Benefits of the research: There will be no direct material or financial benefits to participants. However, it is hoped that the research will help schools improve citizenship

education and therefore to help participants on their understandings and practices as citizens.

My responsibilities as a researcher: I am obligated by the University of Sussex ethical standards to not breach confidentiality and anonymity of the participants. In the report, I will not disclose the identity of any of the participants or the schools. This research has been approved by the department of Education at the University of Sussex and I am waiting for ethical clearance from the university. I am seeking the permission of the school \_\_\_\_\_ to conduct this research and will adhere to all requirements set forth by you. Schools could ask me to present reports of my investigation at any time and for the purposes they consider are needed.

I hope that you will kindly grant me permission conduct this research. I am happy to discuss it with you at any time and would welcome any suggestions that you might have to ensure that my study will benefit the Government of Chile, the Ministry of Education, the schools and students and their families.

If you have any questions, you can reach me by phone at \_\_\_\_\_ or by email at \_\_\_\_\_.

If you would like to confirm my status as a PhD student, you can contact my academic supervisor, Dr Yusuf Sayed at \_\_\_\_\_ or by phone at \_\_\_\_\_.

Respectfully,

Paula Leal Tejeda  
National ID \_\_\_\_\_

June 2013.

### **Appendix 3. Participant information sheet for parents and students**

(To be translated into Spanish language)

#### **STUDY TITLE:**

Students' understandings of citizenship and citizenship education in selected public and private secondary schools in Chile

#### **INVITATION:**

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and share this with your parents.

#### **WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY?**

Considering that the Chilean Government aims to improve the citizenship education in secondary schools throughout the country, this study seeks to explore what are your understandings about citizenship and the citizenship education. I would like to look at your own opinions about these topics and how you learn them in the context of what happens within the classrooms and the whole school. I will be visiting your school in a period of 4 months to observe how citizenship is taught.

#### **WHY HAVE I BEEN INVITED TO PARTICIPATE?**

You were invited to participate in this study because you are a grade 12 student and your parent/guardian has agreed that you participate. You are in a good position to discuss your own opinions and your input will help me understand how you learn about citizenship in school.

#### **DO I HAVE TO TAKE PART?**

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to have your parents sign a consent form. If you decide to take part, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

#### **WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO ME IF I TAKE PART?**

You will be invited to have a meeting with me in a safe and private place, preferably your home, where at least one of your parents/guardian will be present to ensure your safety. S/he will not be in the same room with us but in the same house/building. We will talk about citizenship and school. I will audiotape the meeting only if you accept and I will take notes of our conversation. During the meeting, you may choose not to answer any of the questions asked at any time without giving a reason.

#### **WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE DISADVANTAGES AND RISKS OF TAKING PART?**

There are no known or anticipated risks of this research other than the risk of privacy. To protect your privacy, I will not use your name or your school's name in my research. As the researcher, I will be the only one who will know the response students will give.

#### **WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE BENEFITS OF TAKING PART?**

There will be no direct material or financial benefits to participants. However, it is

hoped that the research helps your school improve citizenship education and therefore, to help you as a person and a citizen.

#### WILL WHAT I SAY IN THIS STUDY BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL?

To protect your confidentiality, I will not use your name or your school's name in my research. As the researcher, I will be the only one who will know the response students will give.

I have to clarify that if you disclose sensitive information to me I have the responsibility by law of reporting it to whom may concern. Sensitive information means any kind of offense that someone is committing against you. Remember that you are under 18 years of age so the law seeks to ensure your wellbeing and safety.

#### WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO THE RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH STUDY?

The results of the study will be used for my doctorate thesis at the University of Sussex in England. I will submit that thesis to the University in 2015 and after that it will be of public domain. It means that you can obtain a copy of it. I also plan to publish it as an article for an academic journal.

#### CONTACT FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

My mobile phone number while in Chile is \_\_\_\_\_ and my phone number in the UK is \_\_\_\_\_. My email address is \_\_\_\_\_.

My academic supervisor is Dr Yusuf Sayed. You can contact him by phone at \_\_\_\_\_ and by email at \_\_\_\_\_.

Respectfully,  
Paula Leal Tejeda

Thank you for taking time to read the information sheet.

#### **Appendix 4. Participant information sheet for teachers**

(To be translated into Spanish language)

##### **STUDY TITLE:**

Students' understandings of citizenship and citizenship education in selected public and private secondary schools in Chile

##### **INVITATION:**

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

##### **WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY?**

Considering that the Chilean Government aims to improve the citizenship education in secondary schools throughout the country, this study seeks to explore how citizenship and citizenship education are enacted in selected schooling in Chile, considering students' understandings about these topics as a priority and your role as a teacher as a key point of the study. I would like to look at your own opinions about citizenship and citizenship education and how you teach them in the context of what happens within the classrooms and the whole school. I will be visiting the school in a period of 4 months to observe how citizenship is taught.

##### **WHY HAVE I BEEN INVITED TO PARTICIPATE?**

You were invited to participate in this study because you are a 12 grade teacher of the subject "History and Social Sciences". You are in a good position to discuss your own opinions as you have the opportunity of teaching contents of citizenship in the subject of which you are the responsible professional. Your input will help me understand how you learn about citizenship in school.

##### **DO I HAVE TO TAKE PART?**

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and make me any question at any time. If you decide to take part, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

##### **WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO ME IF I TAKE PART?**

You will be invited to have a meeting with me in a safe and private place in the school. We will talk about citizenship, the teaching of citizenship and school. I will audiotape the meeting only if you accept and I will take notes of our conversation. During the meeting, you may choose not to answer any of the questions asked at any time without giving a reason.

##### **WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE DISADVANTAGES AND RISKS OF TAKING PART?**

There are no known or anticipated risks of this research other than the risk of privacy. To protect your privacy, I will not use your name or your school's name in my research. As the researcher, I will be the only one who will know the response teachers will give.

##### **WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE BENEFITS OF TAKING PART?**

There will be no direct material or financial benefits to participants. However, it is



hoped that the research help your school improve citizenship education and therefore, to help you as a person and a citizen.

#### WILL WHAT I SAY IN THIS STUDY BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL?

To protect your confidentiality, I will not use your name or your school's name in my research. As the researcher, I will be the only one who will know the response teachers will give.

I have to clarify that if you disclosure sensitive information to me about yourself or about students I have the responsibility by law of reporting it to whom may concern. Sensitive information means any kind of offense that someone is committing against you or against students. Remember that the law seeks to ensure the wellbeing and safety of people under 18 years of age.

#### WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO THE RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH STUDY?

The results of the study will be used for my doctorate thesis at the University of Sussex in England. I will submit that thesis to the University in 2015 and after that it will be of public domain. It means that you can obtain a copy of it. I also plan to publish it as an article for an academic journal.

#### CONTACT FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

My mobile phone number while in Chile is \_\_\_\_\_ and my phone number in the UK is \_\_\_\_\_. My email address is \_\_\_\_\_.

My academic supervisor is Dr Yusuf Sayed. You can contact him by phone at \_\_\_\_\_ and by email at \_\_\_\_\_.

Respectfully,  
Paula Leal Tejeda

Thank you for taking time to read the information sheet.

## **Appendix 5. Participant information sheet for leaders of association of parents and guardians**

(To be translated into Spanish language)

### **STUDY TITLE:**

Students' understandings of citizenship and citizenship education in selected public and private secondary schools in Chile

### **INVITATION:**

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

### **WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY?**

Considering that the Chilean Government aims to improve the citizenship education in secondary schools throughout the country, this study seeks to explore how citizenship and citizenship education are enacted in selected schooling in Chile, considering students' understandings about these topics as a priority and the role of the school community as a key point of the study. I would like to look at your own opinions about citizenship and citizenship education and how you think this is taught in the context of what happens within the classrooms and the whole school. I will be visiting the school in a period of 4 months to observe how citizenship is taught.

### **WHY HAVE I BEEN INVITED TO PARTICIPATE?**

You were invited to participate in this study because you are a leader of the Association of Parents and Guardians of the school. You are in a good position to discuss your own opinions as you have the opportunity of working with students, teachers and heads of the school when making decisions and implementing actions related to the wellbeing of the entire school community. Your input will help me understand how citizenship is taught and practiced in school.

### **DO I HAVE TO TAKE PART?**

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and make me any question at any time. If you decide to take part, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

### **WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO ME IF I TAKE PART?**

You will be invited to have a meeting with me in a safe and private place in the school. We will talk about citizenship, the teaching of citizenship and school. I will audiotape the meeting only if you accept and I will take notes of our conversation. During the meeting, you may choose not to answer any of the questions asked at any time without giving a reason.

### **WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE DISADVANTAGES AND RISKS OF TAKING PART?**

There are no known or anticipated risks of this research other than the risk of privacy. To protect your privacy I will not use your name or your school's name in my research. As the researcher, I will be the only one who will know the response teachers will give.

#### WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE BENEFITS OF TAKING PART?

There will be no direct material or financial benefits to participants. However, it is hoped that the research help the school improve citizenship education and therefore, to help you as a person and a citizen.

#### WILL WHAT I SAY IN THIS STUDY BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL?

To protect your confidentiality I will not use your name or your school's name in my research. As the researcher, I will be the only one who will know the response teachers will give.

I have to clarify that if you disclosure sensitive information to me about yourself or about students I have the responsibility by law of reporting it to whom may concern. Sensitive information means any kind of offense that someone is committing against you or against students. Remember that the law seeks to ensure the wellbeing and safety of people under 18 years of age.

#### WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO THE RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH STUDY?

The results of the study will be used for my doctorate thesis at the University of Sussex in England. I will submit that thesis to the University in 2015 and after that it will be of public domain. It means that you can obtain a copy of it. I also plan to publish it as an article for an academic journal.

#### CONTACT FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

My mobile phone number while in Chile is \_\_\_\_\_ and my phone number in the UK is \_\_\_\_\_. My email address is \_\_\_\_\_.

My academic supervisor is Dr Yusuf Sayed. You can contact him by phone at \_\_\_\_\_ and by email at \_\_\_\_\_.

Respectfully,  
Paula Leal Tejeda

Thank you for taking time to read the information sheet.

**Appendix 6. Consent form for students participating in the study**

(To be translated into Spanish language)

**PROJECT TITLE: Students' understandings of citizenship and citizenship education in selected public and private secondary schools in Chile**

I confirm that I have read and understand the 'Information Sheet' which explains the purposes and characteristics of the study mentioned above and that the Researcher has given me the opportunity to ask questions about issues of the research process.

I confirm that I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason.

I confirm that I want to participate in the study mentioned above.

I understand that the researcher will be carrying out observations within the school and classrooms and I give my consent for her to use of the data collected related to me in an anonymised way.

I agree to the interview being audio recorded.

I agree to the researcher takes notes during the interview.

I understand that all data that researcher collects be treated as strictly confidential.

I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications.

Name of Student Participant:

Date:

Signature:

Name of Researcher:

Date:

Signature:

## **Appendix 7. Consent form for parents/guardians of students participating in the study**

(To be translated into Spanish language)

### **PROJECT TITLE: Students' understandings of citizenship and citizenship education in selected public and private secondary schools in Chile**

I confirm that I have read and understand the 'Information Sheet' which explains the purposes and characteristics of the study mentioned above and that the Researcher has given me the opportunity to ask questions about issues of the research process.

I confirm that I understand that my son/daughter participation is voluntary and that s/he is free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason.

I confirm that I know that my son/daughter wants to participate in the study mentioned above.

I understand that the researcher will be carrying out observations within the school and classrooms and I give my consent for her to use of the data collected related to my son/daughter in an anonymised way.

I agree to the interview being audio recorded.

I agree to the researcher takes notes during the interview.

I understand that all data that researcher collects be treated as strictly confidential.

I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications.

Name of Parent/Guardian of Student Participant:

Date:

Signature:

Name of Researcher:

Date:

Signature:

**Appendix 8. Consent form for head of schools participating in the study**

(To be translated into Spanish language)

**PROJECT TITLE: Students' understandings of citizenship and citizenship education in selected public and private secondary schools in Chile**

I confirm that I have read and understand the 'Information Sheet' which explains the purposes and characteristics of the study mentioned above and that the Researcher has given me the opportunity to ask questions about issues of the research process.

I confirm that I understand that the researcher will be conducting a study within the school and that my duties and rights are to ensure that the study be conducted as it has been agreed.

I confirm that I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason.

I confirm that I want to participate in the study mentioned above.

I understand that the researcher will be carrying out observations within the school and classrooms and I give my consent for her to use of the data collected related to me in an anonymised way.

I agree to the interview being audio recorded.

I agree to the researcher takes notes during the interview.

I understand that all data that researcher collects be treated as strictly confidential.

I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications.

Name of Head of School Participant:

Date:

Signature:

Name of Researcher:

Date:

Signature:

## **Appendix 9. Consent form for teachers and leaders of associations of parents and guardians participating in the study**

(To be translated into Spanish language)

### **PROJECT TITLE: Students' understandings of citizenship and citizenship education in selected public and private secondary schools in Chile**

I confirm that I have read and understand the 'Information Sheet' which explains the purposes and characteristics of the study mentioned above and that the Researcher has given me the opportunity to ask questions about issues of the research process.

I confirm that I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason.

I confirm that I want to participate in the study mentioned above.

I understand that the researcher will be carrying out observations within the school and classrooms and I give my consent for her to use of the data collected related to me in an anonymised way.

I agree to the interview being audio recorded.

I agree to the researcher takes notes during the interview.

I understand that all data that researcher collects be treated as strictly confidential.

I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications.

Name of Teacher or Leader of Association of Parents and Guardians Participant:

Date:

Signature:

Name of Researcher:

Date:

Signature:

## **Appendix 10. Indicative focus group discussion guideline**

### **Students' understandings of citizenship and citizenship education in selected public and private secondary schools in Chile**

We will talk about you and your understandings on citizenship, citizenship education and how it is taught in your school. The information you provide me will be totally confidential. This means that your teachers and parents and other students not present in this focus group discussion will not know what you say. The only people who will know it will be the researcher and her academic supervisor. So please answer my questions as honestly as you can.

If you are unsure about any of the questions or how to answer please just ask me. If you do not want to give opinions in any of the topics you can tell me. This is not a test and there are no right or wrong answers – just your own opinions.

About the group: ages, place of residence, opinions of the city.

About school and your class: opinions of the school; plans after graduating from secondary school

About citizenship: opinions of the idea of citizenship and the citizen; views of duties, rights, responsibilities and identity

About citizenship education: information/knowledge of government/school documents for the delivery of citizenship education; opinions of citizenship education; subjects/contents/activities developed to deliver citizenship education; opinions of teachers' role in teaching citizenship.

Link student-school-family-community: views on the school and classroom environment and climate; opinions of the relationship between classmates, teacher/s and school community; opportunities to practice citizenship within the school and the community.



## **Appendix 11. Indicative student interview guideline**

### **Students' understandings of citizenship and citizenship education in selected public and private secondary schools in Chile**

We will talk about you and your understandings on citizenship, citizenship education and how it is taught in your school. The information you provide me will be totally confidential. This means that your teachers, parents and other students will not know what you say. The only people who will know it will be the researcher and her academic supervisor. So please answer my questions as honestly as you can.

If you are unsure about any of the questions or how to answer please just ask me. If you do not want to response any of my questions you can tell me. This is not a test and there are no right or wrong answers – just your own opinions.

#### **About you**

How old are you?

What is your date of birth?

Who do you live at home?

Do you like living in this city? Why?

#### **About school and your course**

Do you like your school and course? Why?

Have you decided what will you do after graduating from school? (i.e. studying, working or any other activity) Why?

Do you have a favourite subject at school? Why?

Is there a subject you don't like at school? If yes, which one(s), and why?

#### **About citizenship**

How do you understand the idea of citizenship?

How do you define a 'citizen'?

Do you think that all people in any country have the same duties and responsibilities?

Could you explain it?

Do you think that all people living in Chile are 'citizens'? Why?

Do you think you are equal or different to other people? In what sense?

#### **About citizenship education**

Do you know if there are specific contents about citizenship that should be taught on secondary schools? Could you mention at least one?

Have you received the contents of citizenship at school? Could you identify in which classes/courses/areas?

Could you mention and comment something about the contents about citizenship that you learnt at school?

Think about your experiences with teachers during lessons related to citizenship. Do you think that: Contents have been interesting? Teachers have been taught citizenship in a creative way? Could you mention some specific activities developed during classes?

**Link student-school-family-community**

What is your opinion about your classroom environment?

What is your opinion about the relationship between you, your classmates and your teacher/s?

Do you think contents on citizenship have helped or hindered these relationships? Why?

Could you give me your opinion about how you practice the contents you have learnt on citizenship within the school?

What opportunities does school give you to participate in community activities related to citizenship and citizenship education?

Do your family get involved in activities organised by school related to citizenship and citizenship education? Could you explain how they get involved in these activities?

## **Appendix 12. Indicative teacher interview guideline**

### **Students' understandings of citizenship and citizenship education in selected public and private secondary schools in Chile**

We will talk about you and what are your opinions about students' understandings on citizenship, citizenship education and how it is taught in the school you teach. The information you provide me will be totally confidential. The only people who will know it will be the researcher and her academic supervisor. So please answer my questions as honestly as you can.

If you are unsure about any of the questions or how to answer please just ask me. If you do not want to response any of my questions you can tell me.

#### **About you**

How old are you?

Who do you live with?

Do you like living in this city? Why?

#### **About the school**

What is/are your role/roles within the school?

How long have you worked here?

Why do you work in this school?

Do you like teaching in this school? Why?

What are the main strengths and weaknesses of this school?

#### **About citizenship**

How do you understand the concept of citizenship?

How do you define a 'citizen'?

Do you think that all people in any country have the same duties and responsibilities?

Could you explain it?

Do you think that all people living in Chile are 'citizens'? Why?

Do you think you are equal or different to other people? In what sense?

#### **About citizenship education**

Could you tell me about the topics that are covered in citizenship education classes?

Have you taught the contents of citizenship at school? Could you identify in which classes/courses/areas?

Could you mention and comment topics about citizenship you like discussing in classes?

Could you mention and comment topics about citizenship you do not like discussing in classes?

Think about your experiences with students during lessons related to citizenship. Do you think that: Contents have been interesting? Students have been taught citizenship in a creative way? Could you mention some specific activities developed during classes?

**Link student-school-family-community**

What is your opinion about your classroom environment?

What is your opinion about the relationship between you, your students, your students' parents and guardians and your colleagues?

Do you think contents on citizenship have helped or hindered these relationships? Why?

Could you give me your opinion about how you practice the contents you have taught on citizenship within the school?

What opportunities does school give you to participate in community activities related to citizenship and citizenship education?

Do the students' families get involved in activities organised by school related to citizenship and citizenship education? Could you explain how they get involved in these activities?

### **Appendix 13. Indicative leaders of associations of parents and guardians interview guideline**

Students' understandings of citizenship and citizenship education in selected public and private secondary schools in Chile

We will talk about you and your understandings on citizenship, citizenship education and how it is taught in the school and what do you think are the understandings that students have developed in relation to citizenship and citizenship education. The information you provide me will be totally confidential. The only people who will know it will be the researcher and her academic supervisor. So please answer my questions as honestly as you can.

If you are unsure about any of the questions or how to answer please just ask me. If you do not want to response any of my questions you can tell me. There are no right or wrong answers – just your own opinions.

#### **About you**

How old are you?

What is your date of birth?

Who do you live at home?

Do you like living in this city? Why?

#### **About the school**

What is/are your role/roles within the school?

How long have you been involved in Association of Parents and Guardians leadership?

Could you describe what are your main responsibilities as a leader of this Association?

Why did you accept this leadership?

What are the main strengths and weaknesses of this school?

#### **About citizenship**

How do you understand the concept of citizenship?

How do you define a 'citizen'?

Do you think that all people in any country have the same duties and responsibilities?

Could you explain it?

Do you think that all people living in Chile are 'citizens'? Why?

Do you think that your son/daughter is a citizen? Why?

Do you think you are equal or different to other people? In what sense?

#### **About citizenship education**

Do you know if there are specific contents about citizenship that should be taught on secondary schools? Could you mention at least one?

Do you know if your son/daughter has received the contents of citizenship at school?

Could you identify in which classes/courses/areas?

Could you identify some topics covered in citizenship education?

**Link student-school-family-community**

What is your opinion about classrooms and school environment?

What is your opinion about the relationship between you, students, teachers and other parents/guardians?

Do you think contents on citizenship have helped or hindered these relationships? Why?

Could you give me your opinion about how students practice the contents they have learnt on citizenship within the school?

What opportunities does school give students, teachers and you to participate in community activities related to citizenship and citizenship education?

Do families get involved in activities organised by school related to citizenship and citizenship education? Could you explain how they get involved in these activities?

## Appendix 14. Classroom and other activities/events observation schedule

### Students' understandings of citizenship and citizenship education in selected public and private secondary schools in Chile

School and specific place/classroom:

Date and time:

Activity (specific subject lesson, meeting, other):

Purpose of lesson/meeting/activity:

#### 1. Layout of the room/place

<p>Description of infrastructure</p> <p>Teacher stands at the front of the classroom and students sit in rows</p> <p>Students form a circle</p> <p>Students work in separated groups</p> <p>Classroom equipment</p>	
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#### 2. Teacher behaviour during the lesson

2.1. Lesson development	
<p>Introduction</p> <p>Starts lesson on time</p> <p>Clarifies the lesson objectives at the start of the lesson</p> <p>Links previous class to the objectives of the current one</p>	

<p>Body</p> <p>Gives clear instructions and explanations</p> <p>Provides interactive activities that motivate all students to participate in the lesson</p> <p>Gives a well-structured lesson</p>	
<p>Conclusion</p> <p>Summarises the lesson allowing students to give their opinions</p> <p>Gives feedback to students</p>	
<p>2.2. Teaching methods</p> <p>Time spent talking and reading from a book Material used during the lesson</p> <p>Technological resources and software used (PC, laptop, camera, Power Point, videos, music, etc.)</p>	

### 3. Students behaviour during the lesson

<p>Follow instructions given by the teacher</p> <p>Pay attention to what teacher is talking about</p> <p>Give opinions about what is being taught</p> <p>Develop more than one activity during the lesson</p> <p>Work in groups collaboratively</p> <p>Give feedback about the lesson</p> <p>Students are actively engaged in learning</p>	
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